

As-Salt

The Place of Tolerance
and Urban Hospitality

Volume I

*Nomination Document for the
Inscription on the World Heritage List*



2.a *Description of Property*

Introduction

Our approach is based on considering this cultural property (historic urban core of As-Salt) as a historic urban landscape (HUL) which is the result of historic layering and transformation of cultural, natural, and social values and attributes that extended beyond the notion of only buildings or a historic ensemble to rather include the broader urban and natural setting and architecture on one hand; and socio-cultural practices, and values on the other.

Urban Social History: Salt in Socio-Historical & Cultural Contexts and the Evolution of the Settlement from a Peasant Rural Community to a Southern Ottoman Frontier in Trans-Jordan.

- **Ottoman Reforms and Extending Ottoman Rule into the Southern Frontiers of the Empire**

The transformation of As-Salt during the 19th century from a rural village on the eastern part of River Jordan into a thriving urban southern frontier during the later Ottoman period could not

be comprehended without a clear understanding of the late Ottoman various reforms during the second half of the 19th century triggered by the intentions to extend Ottoman rule into the southern frontiers of the Arab provinces. This era known as the Golden Age for the city of As-Salt; spanning around 7 decades (from the early beginnings of these Ottoman reforms (known as Tanzimat Othmaniah around the 1860s) until the beginning of the second decade in the 20th century (1920s) when the socio-political and urban focus shifted to Amman: the capital of the newly-established state of Emirate of East Jordan; is the focus of our study.

The extending of Ottoman rule led to a series of transformations in economic, cultural, and urban realities of As-Salt addressing administrative, infrastructure (e.g., public roads, public buildings, security, and communication systems), educational and health care reforms and transformations that worked to transform the tribal individual of the area into an Ottoman urban subject and encouraged also the transformation of pastoral tribes into full-time cultivators; and also triggered the migration into As-Salt of urban merchants from nearby cities such as Nablus, Beirut, Damascus, and Jerusalem who were drawn to As-Salt due to the advancing of security in the region and also due to the new economic opportunities of trade and agriculture which presented As-Salt to these urban bourgeois merchants as the new southern economic frontier

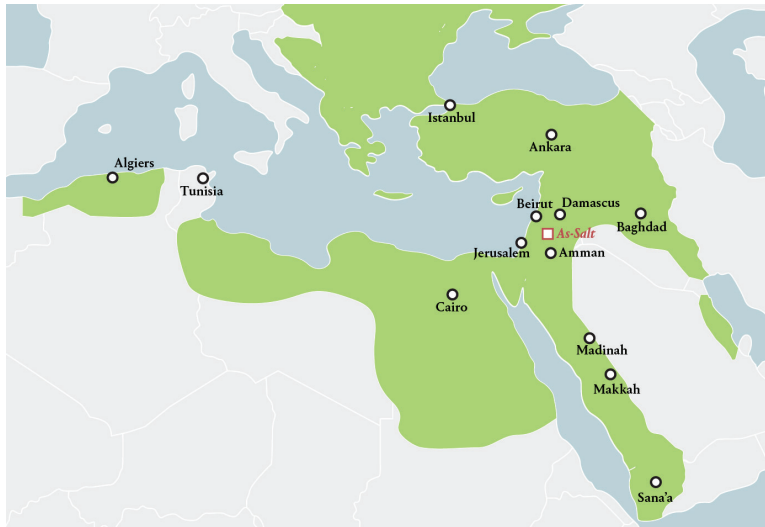
in the region emerging in what was known then as Trans-Jordan. In 1890, Salt was linked to Damascus by telegraph, and remained the southernmost station in the Syrian network until June 1900. Another major Ottoman investment in communication and road networks was the establishment of the Hijaz Railroad Line across Trans-Jordan at the turn of the 20th century. Part of Ottoman reforms was also the building of schools and mosques and the dispatching of religious instructors and teachers to As-Salt. As-Salt emerged as a new Ottoman urban frontier in Trans-Jordan. The City demonstrated the interconnections between both a tribal and an emerging urban culture with strong connection to the hinterland around it.



Fig.1. Ottoman Saraya Building



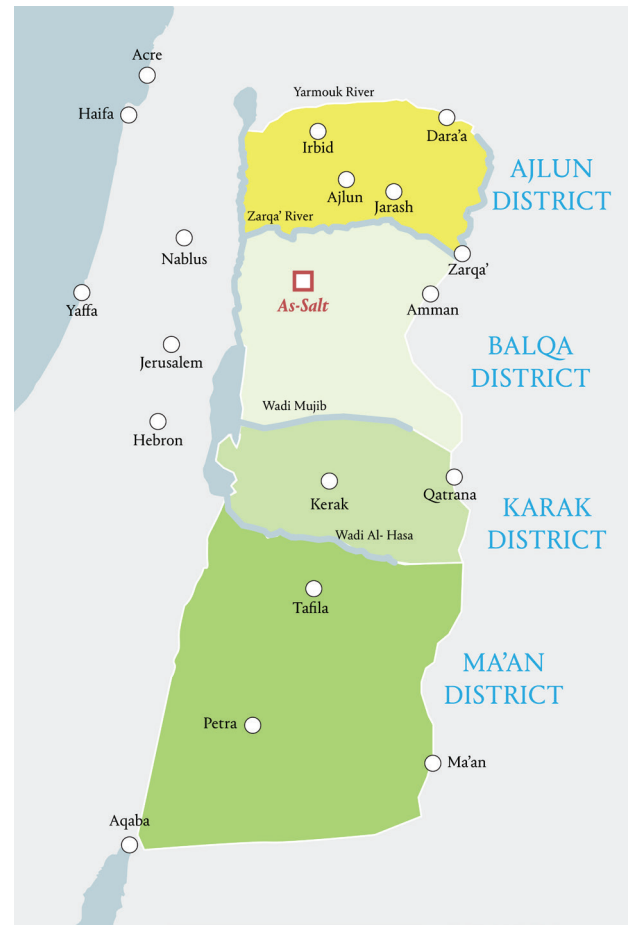
Fig.2. Small Mosque of As-Salt



A



B



C

Diagram.4
A. Territories
of the Ottoman
Empire in the in the
19th Century

B. Ottoman
Provinces of Bilad
Al Sham (Levant)

C. Ottoman
Districts of Trans-
Jordan in the
second half of the
19th Century

- **Urban Bourgeois Merchants Drawn to As-Salt (The New Economic Frontier)**

One very significant group that contributed to the transformation of As-Salt from a small rural village in the first half of the 20th century to a thriving urban center were groups of migrating urban bourgeois merchants drawn to As-Salt after extending Ottoman rule, security and reforms to these southern frontiers of the empire. Intensified security (due to Ottoman reforms) and the agricultural production of the region (including very good quality grains) were the primary attractions that encouraged these urban merchants to flock to As-Salt where they diversified their economic activities to include in addition to trade and agriculture, the accumulation of agricultural property. Migrating families came from Nablus, Jerusalem, and Hebron in Palestine; from Damascus in Syria; from Lebanon, and from as far north as Turkey.

Merchants' activities drew Transjordan into the regional economy of Ottoman Syria and the Mediterranean world beyond. They emerged as a distinct social elite, and this was manifested by the homes they have commissioned to be built fronting main public spaces of the city such as Hammam Street and Al Ain Plaza.

These urban bourgeois houses, as will be explained later in this document, should be seen as a testimony

to their social position, and to cultural exchange manifested in the circulation of architectural types and images within the region producing a unique and particular urban sophistication in As-Salt towards the beginning of the 20th century. A rich and distinctive social life was emerging based on a combination of tribal customs and newly urban social norms with unique manifestations such as a special urban hospitality, a distinctive urban setting and architecture, and a harmonious co-habitation between Muslims and Christians on one hand, and different ethnic groups on the other.

Traded products with the region and with international markets included pastoral and agricultural products. Pastoral traded goods included livestock (sheep, horses, camels) and their sub products (wool, Samn (butter), and dried yogurt (Gameed); agricultural products included grains, grapes, raisins and a special plant (Kali or Qili) whose ashes are an important ingredient in the production of soap. These traded products from the Balqa region from As-Salt hinterland played a key role in the integration of Trans-Jordan into regional and international markets through Nablus, Jerusalem, Damascus, Beirut, and Haifa. Grapes, of different types, were considered one of the most important types of agricultural produce in As-Salt and the Balqa' region. Raisins were sold primarily through Jerusalem and Nablus, and were exported from Yaffa (Jaffa) to European markets as well. Specialty markets in Hammam street and

Sahet al Ain flourished in the second half of the 19th century selling these various pastoral and agricultural products. In addition, As-Salt included a livestock market in the lower parts of Hammam street.

These bourgeois urban merchants brought with them images, architectural types, and building techniques from their homes of origins in Palestine and Lebanon. They introduced to As-Salt (which was predominantly composed of peasant (Fallahi) houses) to new building typologies such as the Central Hall (3-Bay House) with its triple arch motif and Bilad al Sham (Levant) Town Houses with their commercial shops on ground floor and residential 3-Bay configurations on upper floors.



Fig3. Hammam Street

Built by migrating builders and masons from Nablus and Jerusalem, these urban merchants' houses were mostly located overlooking public areas (e.g., Hammam Street or Al Ain Plaza), and introduced to

As-Salt a particular urban sophistication producing an urban bourgeois vernacular architecture.

The circulation of images, architectural types, building techniques and materials culminated in a cultural exchange that supported a new urban lifestyle new to As-Salt fused with local tribal/urban customs of urban hospitality and support and symbiosis between Muslim and Christian residents of the City.

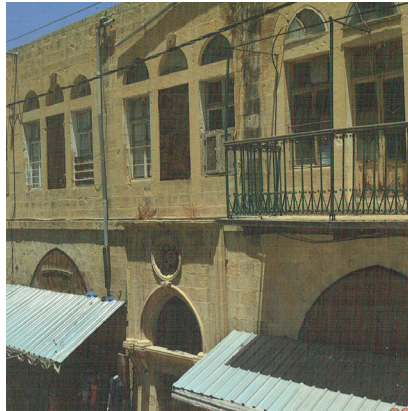


Fig.4. Touqan House- One of the urban bourgeois merchants house



Fig.5. Abu Jaber House

- **European Christian Missionaries & Their Public Works on Body and Soul**

Christian missionaries were another major catalyst of change in As-Salt. Missionaries were the only European residents in Transjordan, primarily Britons of the church Missionary Society and the French and Italian priests of the Latin patriarchate of Jerusalem. In addition to building churches, missionaries introduced modern education and medicine through the opening of schools, clinics and hospitals which provided new approaches to diagnosis. Students for the first time in As-Salt were exposed to the subjects and pedagogy of European education: the sciences and humanities. So, towards the second half of the 19th century, the people of Salt started to entertain relations with these European missionaries. French missionaries built the Roman Catholic Church (Known locally at Latin Church) in 1869-70 very close to the main square of the city (Sahet al Ain); the Anglican Church was built in 1867 also close and overlooking the square above Al-Khader Street. Prior to the arrival of these Western missionaries, Christians in Trans-Jordan were mostly Greek Orthodox. Visitors to the City talk of an inter-sectarian tolerance that prevailed between Muslims and Christians residents of As-Salt to the extent that it was very difficult to recognize one from the other based on appearance, dress, and cultural norms. Located on the Haddadin Steps overlooking Al Ain Plaza, the English Hospital was considered the only hospital in the region of

Trans-Jordan at that time.



Fig.6. Latin Church (Roman Catholic Church)



Fig.7. Anglican Church (Church of the Good Shepherd) and the English Hospital

- **Every Day Life & An Emerging Distinctive Local Culture: Tolerance, Symbiosis, Urban Social Welfare, and the Honor of Urban Hospitality**

The As-Salt Urban community, and by the end of 19th century was a remarkable mix of local tribes and urban bourgeois merchants from Nablus, Jerusalem, Hebron, Damascus, Nazareth, Lebanon, and Turkey. A rich and distinctive social life was emerging based on a combination of tribal customs and newly urban social norms with influences from Ottoman and missionary public works and reform. There were always new comers to town, peddlers, merchants, or even merchant migrants. This created a new As-Salti tradition of urban hospitality where travelers and visitors were welcomed in the urban merchants own houses for days and were offered the best in food, drink, and accommodations. The religious diversity of the community of As-Salt and its hinterland (Muslims, Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholics, and Protestants); and the different ethnicities (Arabs, Turkmen, Kurds, Chechens) was a point of strength that enjoyed a harmonious co-habitation, tolerance, and support between Muslims and Christians on one hand, and different ethnic groups on the other. This diverse community is As-Salt shared a dense urban setting and produced a distinctive architecture and public spaces that supported this tolerance and symbioses in addition to producing a distinctive urban social welfare between neighbors and residents of the City.

This very important trait of tolerance and co-habitation between Muslims and Christians that emerged in As-Salt was unique and resulted in the shaping of an urban fabric in a way where no divisions (ethnically or religiously) between residential quarters existed in the City. Many cultural traits testified to this co-habitation and tolerance such as sharing each other's religious festivals, sharing responsibilities, brotherhood and fraternity (e.g., brotherhood through breast feeding, or Brotherhood in blood: this was a symbolic link where a Muslim and a Christian would consider each other as a brother and would help each other when in need). Muslims and Christians joined together in the veneration of certain local saints such as prophet Yoush'a (Joshua), the prophet Al Khader.



Fig.8. The Great Mosque and the Anglican Church (Church of the Good Shepherd)

This unique and peaceful co-habitation is continued into the present, and in fact, As-Salt, can demonstrate a lesson in such tolerance that the can benefit many places of the World today. In As-Salt, a unique and outstanding form of urban hospitality was manifested not only through physical buildings (Madafat or Madafas (singular Madafa)), but also through a social/financial support system between families that financed and supported this unique urban hospitality. More than 12 madafas existed all over the historic urban core. Today, this tradition and practice is continued into the present taking similar but also transformed forms of urban hospitality and family social welfare. In certain cases, these family Madafas where individual buildings, and in other cases, part of the house was dedicated to serve as a Madafa. The practice of hospitality in As-Salt was very much linked to family and clan's honor, and usually families competed for it.

As-Salt enjoyed a rich, inclusive, and colorful public life through its various public spaces such as Hammam Street, Skafiya Street, and the City's square (Sahet al Ain) and also public buildings, (e.g., mosques, churches, clinics, schools, Ottoman Sarai, Telegraph Office, other). Religious holidays for both Muslim and Christians were also celebrated in these public spaces through joint processions and events. As-Salt was a busy mercantile City, therefore, its shops and streets were always buzzing with clientele from all over the region. In general,

residents of the city demonstrated many habits and customs related to urban social welfare (e.g., neighbors helping each other in need, neighbors offering support for a family with a sick family member, women of the neighborhood gathered together to help and offer support for a neighbor who had given birth, neighbors sharing food and sweets on a daily basis, other).

It was an exceptional urban reality in Trans-Jordan at the time and within the region that not only brought an end to the complete bedouinization of the trans-Jordan at that time; but also drafted the outlines for a genuine Jordanian urban culture.



*Fig.9. Al Khreisat
(Falah Al Hamad House)*

The unique urban dense fabric of the City provided the appropriate context for such urban social welfare. Many houses shared semi-public spaces, steps, and alleyways, this strengthened the social relations between members of the community in general. As-Salt stood as a true example of human common life and friendship, tolerance and cohabitation, philanthropy, and urban hospitality.



*Fig.10. people
shopping at Hammam
street*

Understanding the City's Architectural and Urban Context

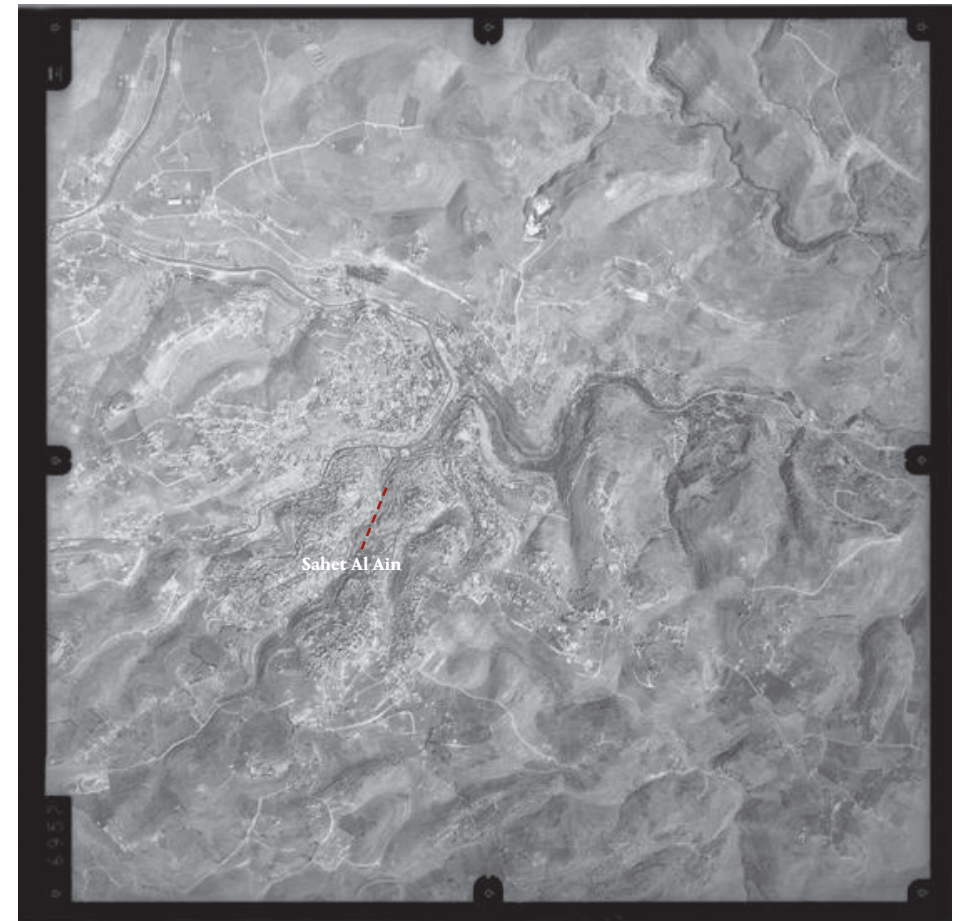
Prior to understanding the city's architectural and urban contexts, it is important to attempt to understand the specific natural morphology of the city and the relationship between this unique natural morphology and the emerging urban context. As-Salt is composed of several mountains (*Al Qal'a*, *Al Jad'a*, and *Al Salalem*) that are separated by valleys (*Wadis*). *Wadi Al Akrad* separates between *Al Qal'a* and *Al Jad'a* mountains; while *Al Maydan* separates between *Al Qal'a* and *Al Salalem* mountains. Early settlement of peasant houses climbed up the *Qal'a* and *Jad'a* mountains from the Valley where a water spring existed and later on the main city square developed (*Sahet al Ain*).



trails between the peasant houses were gradually transformed into the various city steps connecting the newly built houses on the slopes of the city with the lower public spaces of *Sahet al Ain* and *Hammam* Street and the various public buildings and urban merchant bourgeois houses and producing a unique dense urban reality.

Fig.11. Fallahi House

Fig.12. Historic Aerial photograph of As-Salt, *Sahet Al Ain* is referenced





- **Architectural Typo-morphology: Links between the city, Its Architecture; and the People that Produced It**

Understanding the city's architectural context and the emergence of various architectural types need to be understood in terms of the relation between these various types on one hand, and the people that produced them and the city's urban morphology on the other. As was explained, As-Salt went through a major transformation from being a rural village in the first half of the 19th century to a thriving urban and commercial center in Trans-Jordan towards the second half of the 19th century. This transformation was due to reforms and public works by the Ottomans and Christian missionaries, and with the influence of migrating bourgeois urban merchants who were drawn to As-Salt since its emergence as the new economic southern frontier. These bourgeois urban merchants brought with them images, architectural types, and building techniques from their homes of origin in Palestine and Lebanon. They introduced to As-Salt (which was predominantly composed of peasant (*Fallahi*) houses) new building typologies such as the 3-Bay House with its triple arch motif and the *Bilad al Sham* (Levant) Townhouses with their commercial shops on the ground floor and residential 3-Bay configurations on upper floors. Built by migrating stone masons from Nablus and Jerusalem, these urban merchants' houses were mostly located overlooking public areas (e.g., *Hammam Street* or

Al Ain Plaza), and introduced to As-Salt a particular urban sophistication producing an urban bourgeois vernacular architecture.

The circulation of images, architectural types, building techniques and materials culminated in a cultural exchange that supported a new urban



Fig.15. Touqan House in Hammam Street



Fig.16. View to As-Sukkar House, Al Mouasher House in the bottom left

lifestyle new to As-Salt fused with local tribal/urban customs of urban hospitality and support and symbiosis between Muslim and Christian residents of the city. Diagram.11, Page 53 illustrates not only the circulation of architectural types (e.g.,

3-Bay Houses, *Bilad al Sham Town Houses*), images, building techniques (e.g., *Art Nouveau* and Neo-Classical motifs and details); but also the circulation of *Modernity* art and images popular during the Late Ottoman period such as the circulation of *Art Nouveau* paintings and other late Ottoman paintings showing picturesque scenes, ocean liners and locomotives, symbolizing Ottoman *Modernity*. The cultural exchange resulted in the circulation of various architectural types, and construction materials and know-how. The emergence of a merchant bourgeoisie in As-Salt acting as a regional and international intermediary between European centers and the city was supported by trade relations; it resulted also in the import of Western industrial construction materials and know-how. The new emerging architectural typologies represented in certain cases a local vernacular tradition with the influence of master builders who merged regional influences with imported materials and stylistic trends; and in other cases a high style architectural tradition by Western and Western-educated professionals (but also with influences by prominent knowledge of master builders such as 'Abd al Rahman Al 'Akrouq). Examples of the latter include urban bourgeois mansions (e.g., Abu Jaber, Touqan, other) and public institutional buildings (e.g., Latin Church designed by the French priest/architect Morétain, The Small Mosque, other).

Map.3

Examples of Urban Bourgeois Merchants' Houses in As-Salt



The Houses of Urban Merchants

- 1 Al-Daoud (Saha)
- 2 Touqan
- 3 Al Nabulsi
- 4 Mihyar
- 5 Al-Khatib
- 6 Al-Daoud
- 7 Al-Sukkar
- 8 Al-Mouasher
- 9 Abu Jaber
- 10 Touqan (As-Salt Museum)

When understanding the emergence of architectural types; it is important to understand that places are socially-produced and in order to arrive closer at processes of such production one has to eliminate boundaries between the tangible and intangible attributes of such a place or heritage. In the case of the City of As-Salt, such discursive understanding of the City is based on delving and probing into its processes of urban transformation and change from being a small peasants' community, into an emergent urban presence at the southern frontiers of the Ottoman Empire. A typo-morphological analysis for the architecture within As-Salt historic core will focus on the relationship between the emergent types and the urban morphology of the place on one hand and the actors and patrons linked to the emergence of a particular architectural type on the other (Moudon 1994: 289).

Based on fieldwork and literature review, and on previous research on typo-morphology, it has been inferred that As-Salt's emergent architectural types can be divided into two main categories based on time frame in general:

— **Historic architectural types during the Golden Age** ranging from the 1860s and up to the late 1920s: this period is the focus of this nomination; it commences with the consolidation of Ottoman rule and reforms and the arrival of urban bourgeois merchants from nearby cities of Palestine, Lebanon and Syria; until the shift of

economic and political power from As-Salt to the new emerging capital of Trans-Jordan at that time, Amman in the 1920s.

— **Contemporary architectural types** from right before the middle of the 20th century up to the present. Here, architecture in As-Salt was influenced by emerging types and trends from Amman, the emergent capital.

Historic Architectural Types from the Golden Age (1860s - Late 1920s)

Fallahi (Peasant) Houses

A view of the City during the first half of the 19th century shows that As-Salt was composed of mainly *Fallahi* (Peasant) Houses spread on the two mountains (*Qal'a* and *Jad'a*) and were connected by dirt roads doing up and downhill. *Fallahi* (Peasant) Houses were characterized by a single space roofed by arches or cross vaults. Within this single space, the elevated platform insured a clean space "*Taher*" for prayer. The *Fallahi* (Peasant) House had few smaller windows and mostly one door. Only very few of the *Fallahi* (Peasant) Houses are remaining in As-Salt today. It is also important to mention that early *Fallahi* (Peasant) Houses in As-Salt were actually extensions of existing caves.

Fig.17. Interior of a Fallahi (Peasant) House in As-Salt
Fig.18. Examples of Fallahi (Peasant) Houses in As-Salt



As-Salt (Central Hallway) 3-Bay Houses

This particular building typology was popular within *Bilad al Sham* (Levant) in Lebanon, Palestine, Syria, and Jordan. The emergence of this 3-Bay (*Central Hallway Dwelling*) in As-Salt in the second half of the 19th century was linked to the arrival of urban bourgeois migrants from Lebanon, Damascus, and Palestine including master builders who brought a certain tradition of building which was moulded in the local context (simplicity, economic humility, type of stone). In the urban morphological context of the City, this particular type oscillated between a simpler local vernacular tradition merging regional influences and imported materials and images; and a higher style architecture involving prominent master builders; producing different models for the same type:

- **3-Bay (Central Hallway) Houses on Upper Slopes with Orchards:** Several 3-Bay (Central Hallway) Houses can still be found on the upper slopes of the mountains (e.g., *Qal'a*), with olive orchards. In this particular model, the 3-Bay House is strongly tied to the orchards and is found on higher slopes with several traditional rubble stone retaining walls (*Sanasel*).



Fig.21. Example of 3-bay houses on upper slopes behind Al Qal'a



Fig.19. Mashini House; An example of 3-bay houses on upper slopes

- **3-Bay (Central Hallway) Urban Bourgeois Houses on Lower Slopes:** This model of the 3-Bay typology can be found mainly on lower slopes of the mountains fronting or overlooking public spaces and commercial streets. Most of these houses belonged to migrating urban merchants and accommodated higher architectural style features and motifs. Several included a portico in front of the central hallway.



Fig.22. Touqan House (As-Salt Archeological Museum) on Al Maydan Street

- **3-Bay Houses with Inner Foyers Adapting to As-Salt's Urban Morphology:**

Another model of the 3-Bay typology emerged adapting to a unique morphology shaped by natural topography and steps of the City. The model demonstrated variations on the 3-Bay House typology with inner foyers (rather than a full-fledged central hallway) or in other occasions without even a complete 3-Bay spatial configuration due to this specific morphology.

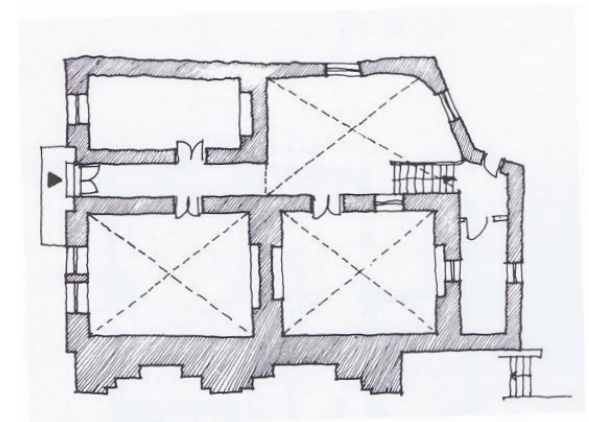


Fig.20. 3-Bay with adaptations to As-Salt's slopes and urban morphology (Inner Foyer) plan

- **3-Bay Houses on Upper Slopes with Courtyards Adapting to As-Salt's Urban Morphology:**

Adapting to a unique morphology shaped by severe slope and steps; this model represents another variation on the 3-Bay typology; with a distinct feature which is the “courtyard” which in certain cases could have a central location, or is located to the side, or (and due to the morphology) is situated on an upper level. This particular model is prominent on upper slopes of the City. It is also important to mention that in certain cases, even *Bilad al Sham Townhouses* do enjoy courtyards on upper levels.



Fig.23. Example of 3-bay houses on upper slopes adapting to As-Salt's urban morphology

Bilad al Sham (Levant) Townhouses

The emergence to the *Bilad al Sham Townhouses* was linked also with the arrival of urban bourgeois merchants and with the flourishing of commercial activity in the City. These merchants preferred to

locate their townhouses fronting main commercial areas (e.g., *Sahet Al Ain*, *Hammam Street*, and *Al Maydan Street*). It is important to mention that while commercial activities flourished on the ground floor; residential use dominated upper floors with a 3-Bay plan spatial confirmation. Examples are multiple such as Abu Jaber, Daoud on *Sahet al Ain*, *Touqan* and *Mihyar* on *Hammam Street*, to mention a few.



Fig.24. Abu Jaber House (Historic old As-Salt Museum), an example of *Bilad al Sham Townhouses*

Local Salti (Multi-Storey) Residential on City Slopes (with 3-Bay Variations)

Most probably, this is the most dominating type within the historic city core, it demonstrates several local characteristics that are specific to As-Salt's morphology (multi-storey buildings on slopes with commanding views). In this particular case, the

ground floor supports a residential function and upper floors enjoy protruded verandas on I-beams with commanding views of what is below. Examples are multiple including *Sukkar House*, several houses on *Haddadin Stairway*, *Jaghbeer*, *Fakhouri*, *Saket*, *Khatib*, *Hattar* in *Al Jad'a*, and many others.

Fig.25. As-Sukkar House, example of Local Salti (Multi-storey) Residential on City Slopes



As-Salt Ottoman/Missionary Public Architecture

The emergence of this particular building typology is associated with both Ottoman reforms (e.g., educational, religious, municipal, health) or Missionary public works (e.g., religious, educational). It is true that buildings were commissioned by Ottoman officials and missionary priests who brought with them their own traditions, but these traditions were also domesticated through the use of a subtle monumentality, the influence and contribution of an emerging urban presence in the City and the use of the local sand-yellow stone. This typology in particular still represented a high style architectural tradition by Western and Western-educated professionals (but also with influences by the knowledge of prominent master builders such as 'Abd Al Rahman Al 'Akrouq). Examples include public institutional buildings (e.g., Latin Church designed by the French priest/architect Morétain, The Ottoman Small Mosque, other).



Fig.26. Example of Missionary Public Architecture

Contemporary Architectural Types

Modern Public Architecture (1940s-60s)

In the 1920s, Amman rose in political and economic importance and became the new capital of Trans-Jordan. Therefore, this particular building typology was influenced by Ammani architecture. The middle of the 20th century was a time of major political and cultural transformations at a national Jordanian level; the State of Jordan was growing and needed to express its legitimacy and existence (institutional presence) through different public buildings with a more formal style and presence, hence the emergence of what is termed the Modern Public type which appeared also in As-Salt in state public projects (e.g., schools, hospitals, other). These followed a modernist logic, but with a twist of subtle monumentality and humble grandeur. It is important to notice that the historic yellow sand stone is now being replaced with white stone symbolizing a shift and accidentally also creating a distinction from existing historic building fabric.



Fig.28. Example of Modern Public Architecture

Mid-20th Century Urban Commercial

Towards the middle of the 20th century and with the influx of massive populations into different Jordanian cities (bringing with them more commercial activity and businesses); and together with the popularity and experimentation with reinforced concrete (e.g., reinforced slabs with ribs, popularity of drop beams, other); one notices the emergence of the Mid-20th Century Urban Commercial type with its modern lines of design and adaptability to new materials. This is evident in many cities of Jordan including As-Salt. This type predominantly appeared fronting main commercial streets and public areas as it catered for commercial activities on ground level and residential and offices on the upper floors.

Fig.27. Example of Mid-20th Century Urban Commercial



Reinforced Concrete Post & Beam Frame House

Towards the second half of the 20th century, and with population increase and urban expansions on the upper slopes of the city (away from the historic core), this type of buildings becomes evident and frequent. The logic is based on a reinforced concrete frame (post and beam) and usually on smaller plots and parcels. Stone was minimally used (to make the dwelling more affordable) and most façades were made of concrete blocks with a more vernacular approach to massing and vertical circulation which adapts to the existing topography and morphology.

Fig.29. Example of Reinforced Concrete Post and Beam Frame Houses



As-Salt Contemporary Public Architecture

This contemporary and newly-emergent type is represented through larger projects (e.g., Municipality building, cultural centers, other) with trends of reminiscing the historic architectural heritage of the city, thus, sometimes ending in the proliferation of kitsch.

The following map identifies the location of examples of the historic architectural types from the Golden Age period and also identifies the location of examples of contemporary architectural types as well. Even though the contemporary architectural types are not considered in this nomination as they represent building typologies that are beyond the Golden Age; yet, they are presented in order to provide a bigger picture and ample information on the evolution of architectural typology into the present.

Fig.30. Example of As-Salt Contemporary Public Architecture





Map.4 Distribution of Architectural Types (Selected Examples)

Historic Architectural Types During the Golden Age (1860s - 1920s)

- 1 Fallahi (Peasant Houses)
- 2 As-Salt Central Hallway (3-Bay Houses)
- 2a 3-Bay (Central Hallway) Houses on Upper Slopes with Orchards
- 2b 3-Bay (Central Hallway) Urban Bourgeois Houses on Lower Slopes
- 2c 3-Bay Houses with Inner Foyers Adapting to As-Salt's Urban Morphology
- 2d 3-Bay Houses on Upper Slopes with Courtyards Adapting to As-Salt's Urban Morphology
- 3 Bilad al Sham (Levant) Townhouses
- 4 Local Salti (Multi-Story) Residential on City Slopes (with 3-Bay Variations)
- 5 As-Salt Ottoman / Missionary Public Architecture

Contemporary Architectural Types

- 6 Modern Public Architecture (1940s-60s)
- 7 Mid-20th Century Urban Commercial
- 8 Reinforced Concrete Post & Beam Frame House
- 9 As-Salt Contemporary Public Architecture

Historic Architectural Types During the Golden Age (1860s - 1920s)



1 Fallahi (Peasant House)



2b 3-Bay (Central Hallway) Urban Bourgeois Houses on Lower Slopes



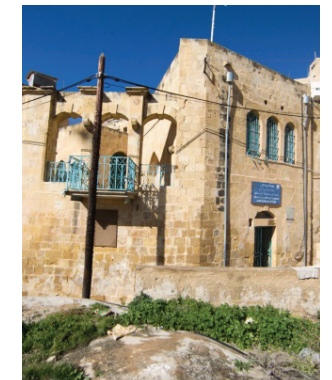
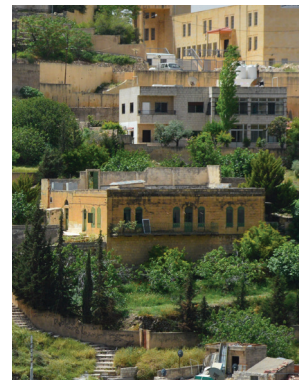
2 As-Salt Central Hallway (3-Bay Houses)



2c 3-Bay Houses with Inner Foyers Adapting to As-Salt's Urban Morphology



2a 3-Bay (Central Hallway) Houses on Upper Slopes with Orchards



2d 3-Bay Houses on Upper Slopes with Courtyards Adapting to As-Salt's Urban Morphology

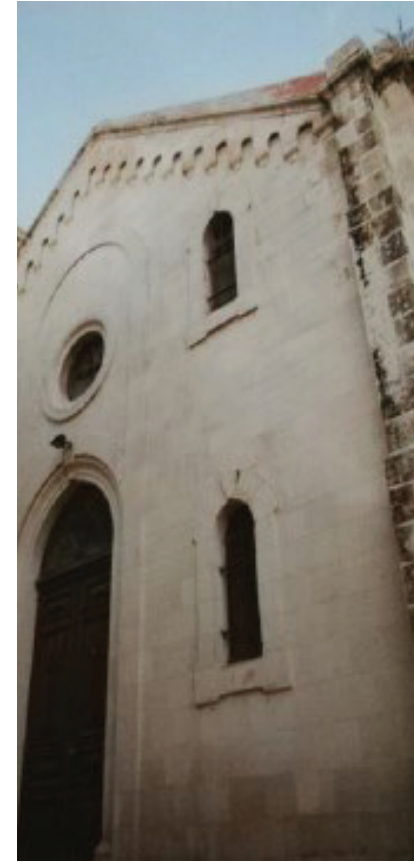
Historic Architectural Types During the Golden Age (1860s - 1920s)



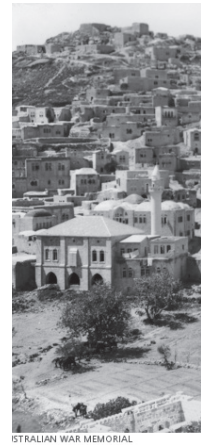
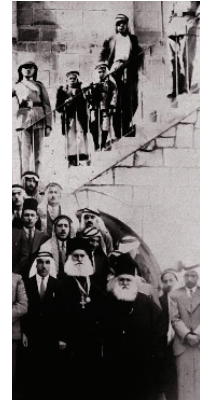
3 Bilad al Sham Townhouse



4 Local Salti (Multi-Story) Residential on City Slopes



5 As-Salt Ottoman / Missionary Public Architecture



AUSTRALIAN WAR MEMORIAL

Contemporary Architectural Types



⑥ As-Salt Modern Public Architecture



⑨ As-Salt Contemporary Public Architecture



⑦ Mid - 20th Century Urban Commercial



⑧ Reinforced Concrete Post & Beam Frame House

• Urban Typologies

It is interesting to observe the urban transformation of the city of As-Salt from a small village composed of peasant houses into a thriving urban economic center and Ottoman southern frontier with public spaces, bourgeois merchants' houses and vibrant markets. A view of the city during the first half of the 19th century shows that As-Salt was composed of mainly *Fallahi* (Peasant) Houses spread on the two mountains (*Al Qal'a* and *Al Jad'a*) and were connected by dirt roads going up and downhill. While a view of the city towards the second half of the 19th century when As-Salt was gradually transformed into a major urban center in Trans-Jordan, these natural trails between the peasant houses were gradually transformed into the various city steps connecting the newly built houses on the slopes of the city with the lower public spaces of *Sahet al Ain* and *Hammam Street* and the various public buildings and urban bourgeois merchants' houses and producing a unique dense urban reality.

As-Salt's urban typologies testify to a unique urban morphology that supports cohabitation between Muslims and Christians and also a unique urban social welfare through a socially-mixed urban environment producing a web of stairs and alleyways that link the 3 mountains (*Al Qal'a*, *Al Jad'a*, and *Salalem*) to the valleys (*wadis*) and public square

and commercial streets of this historic urban core; unique urban nodes; streets, and public plazas (*Sahat*) with potentials for outstanding panoramic lookouts providing chances to contemplate and understand this unique morphology. The following map (Map.11, Page 99), represents a spatial mapping of the various urban typologies within the historic city core of As-Salt.



Fig.31. *Al Jad'a Stairs*



Fig.32. *Al Khader Street*



Fig.33. *Stairway linking Hammam Street to Al Khader Street*



Fig.34. *End of Al Khader Street towards Sahet Al Ain*

It is very interesting to see the continuity of urban practices today including a vibrant use of *Sahet Al Ain* and *Hammam Street* in addition to the city's urban nodes and web of steps. In fact, part of As-Salt's contemporary political discourse is the emerging importance of *Sahet Al Ain* again as a place of political demonstrations even today. Today, political marches start from *Maidan Café* (one of the early political salons of the city), and ends at *Sahet al Ain*.



Fig.35. Men playing Manqala at Sahet Al Ain



Fig.36. People shopping in Hammam Street

Map.5 Urban Typology Sense of Urban Space Morphology



- Nodes:**
1. Old Bakery
 2. Al Khader Street
 3. Lower Khader
 4. Maqam Al Khader
 5. Haddadin Stairway
 6. Aqabet Al Khatib
 7. Al Jad'a Staiway
 8. Al Jad'a Mosque
 9. Abu Talib
 10. Latin Church
 11. Al Jad'a
- Alleways:**
1. Aqabet al Saket
 2. Al Khatib
 3. Al Jad'a
 4. Al Jad'a
 5. Lower Jada'a
 6. Lower Jada'a
 7. Qaqish
 8. Fakhoury
 9. Al Khader
 10. Abu Hamour
 11. Dababneh
 12. Al Abdallat
 13. Al Shaikh
 14. AlMefleh

- Squares (Sahat)**
1. Sahet Al Ain
 2. Al Maydan

- Stairs:**
1. Skafeah
 2. English Hospital
 3. Qubain
 4. Al Abdallat
 5. Haddadin
 6. Al Khalili
 7. Rummanat
 8. Nabulsi
 9. Al Far
 10. Al Jad'a
 11. Faouri
 12. Aqabet Al Khatib
 13. Abu Sarhad
 14. Fakhoury
 15. Maqam Al Khader
 16. Al Mouasher
 17. Hammad

- Streets:**
1. Hammam
 2. Al Khader
 3. Said Abu Jaber
 4. Maydan
 5. Al Qal'a
 6. Said Al Bahra
 7. Farah Abu Jaber

- Panoramic Lookouts:**
1. Lower Qal'a
 2. Haddadin
 3. Said Al Bahra
 4. Al Jad'a Moaque
 5. Upper Jada'a
 6. Al Salalem
 7. As-Salt Secondary School For Boys

2.b *History and development*

Urban Social History: As-Salt in Socio-Historical & Cultural Contexts and the Evolution of the Settlement from a Peasant Rural Community to a Southern Ottoman Frontier in Trans-Jordan

- **Ottoman Reforms and Extending Ottoman Rule into the Southern Frontiers of the Empire**

The transformation of As-Salt during the 19th century from a rural village on the eastern part of the River Jordan into a thriving urban southern frontier during the later Ottoman period could not be comprehended without a clear understanding of the late Ottoman various reforms during the second half of the 19th century triggered by the intentions to extend Ottoman rule into the southern frontiers of the Arab provinces. This era known as the Golden Age for the city of As-Salt; spanning around 7 decades (from the early beginnings of these Ottoman reforms (known as *Tanzimat Othmaniah*) and the first Ottoman Expedition to As-Salt in 1867 until the beginning of the second decade in the 20th century when the socio-political and urban focus shifted to Amman when it was selected to become the capital of the newly-established state of the

Emirate of East Jordan); is the focus of our study. During that *Golden Age*, As-Salt was swiftly transformed from a dormant rural village to a remarkable urban center of trade, migration, settlement, and cultural exchange within the region of *Bilad Al-Sham* (Levant). Ottoman presence in the Arab Provinces is divided into two main periods of influence: the first period before the *Tanzimat* (1517 – 1847); and the second period after the *Tanzimat* (1847 – 1918) when the Ottomans consolidated their rule in the Arab southern frontiers.

The extending of Ottoman rule led to a series of transformations in economic, cultural, and urban realities of As-Salt supported for administrative, infrastructure (e.g., public roads, public buildings, security, and communication systems), educational and health care reforms and transformations that worked to transform the tribal individual of the area into an Ottoman urban subject and also encouraged the transformation of pastoral tribes into full-time cultivators; and also triggered the migration into As-Salt of urban merchants from nearby cities such as Nablus, Beirut, Damascus, and Jerusalem who were drawn to As-Salt due to the advancing of security in the region and also due to the new economic opportunities of trade and agriculture which presented As-Salt to these urban bourgeois merchants as the new southern economic frontier in the region emerging in what was known then as Trans-Jordan.

Until the Late Ottoman period, As-Salt was known to be a small rural village with a citadel, locally called as *Al Qal'a*; built at the time of the Ayyubid dynasty in the 13th century. This citadel formed an important link in the chain of citadels, including Ajloun and Karak leading to Syria, Egypt and the Arab Peninsula, that maintained the security of trade and pilgrimage routes. In the first half of the 19th century, As-Salt, which had always been subject to the authority of the Bedouin tribes, suffered from unrest and lack of security and stability. The Adwan tribe was stationed to the west of the city, the Abbadi tribe to the South and Southwest, the Beni Hasan tribe to the North, and the Beni Sakhr to the east. As these tribes fought over pasture, water and pilgrimage and trade routes, they used to launch raids into farmers' villages, since the Turkish government was unable to subject the region of As-Salt to its authority. These tribes often asked for monetary compensation (known locally as *Khuwa*) in return for the security they provided for villagers, pilgrimage caravans, and travelers (Rogan 1999: 1-2).

In the first half of the 20th century, As-Salt and the surrounding areas witnessed a wide range of lifestyles, combining varying amounts of agriculture and pastoralism. At one end of the spectrum were village-dwelling farmers who practiced intensive agriculture in hillside terraced plots and extensive grain cultivation in the surrounding plains. At the other end of the spectrum were camel herding pastoral nomads who traveled great distances

between summer and winter pastures. Between these two groups were farmers who kept small herds, semi-sedentary pastoralists, and villagers who encamped in distant fields during the cultivation season. Culturally, the gap between Bedouin and peasants in a given district was often quite small.

This frontier order of tribes and chiefdoms was the single greatest barrier to direct Ottoman rule. In effect, tribes performed many of the same functions which the state claimed as its prerogative. Foremost was taxation. The Ottomans frequently sought to extract taxes from agriculture communities only to find that the cultivators had already paid a large part of their surplus to the dominant tribe in the region. Such double taxation frequently provoked peasant flight and village abandonment. Therefore, the Ottoman Empire faced a real need to extend its sovereignty to these southern limits of its Arab Provinces (Rogan 1999: 9).

The British occupation of Egypt in 1882 had raised Ottoman fears for the security of Syria, Palestine, and Jordan; hence, starting in 1867, the Ottoman government decided to extend the instruments of the *Tanzimat* State to the periphery and undertook several initiatives in its frontier zones which, drawing on new *Tanzimat* legislation, developed the state's infrastructural power to create an enduring administrative apparatus at the periphery. The new administrative structure of the 1864 Provincial Reform Law was introduced in Syria in 1866. These

reforms reflected prevailing European norms of modern statecraft which sought to establish a clear hierarchy of authority and accountability which could be reproduced and applied consistently across the Empire. Rather than a wholesale importation of European modes of political and social organization, Ottoman modernity involved a process of mediation and translation to adapt new ideas from the West to radically different settings across the Empire (Rogan 1999, 12). In order to consolidate Ottoman presence in these southern frontiers, Mehmed Rashid Pasha (governor of Damascus 1866-71) led two military expeditionary forces through Jabal Ajloun and into the Balqa against the Bedouin tribes of the area in 1866 and 1869 and created an administrative and military post in As-Salt. According to Owen (1981, 57-64), the extension and consolidation of Ottoman rule and presence into these southern frontiers was also driven by the conviction that Trans-Jordan was a strategic link between Damascus and the Arabian province of the Hijaz and the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina, and as the Ottomans were retreating from their Balkan provinces, they started to adopt a more expansionist policy in the Arabian provinces.

An integral part of the Ottoman reforms was the 1858 Land Law which encouraged cultivation in the region by granting ownership deeds to lands registered with the cadastral authorities that were cultivated for a period of time and whose titleholders regularly paid their taxes (Sluglett & Sluglett 1984, 414). The *Vilayet* (province) Law of

1864 was another important segment of Ottoman reforms, it provided a blueprint for bringing the state to the periphery and was to prove one of the most effective pieces of *Tanzimat* legislation. The law established a hierarchy of rule, a pyramid of authority in which the district (*kaza*) was the standard unit of administration.

The district brought together three essential functionaries – a district governor, a mufti to oversee religious affairs, and a judge. The law also called for the creation of administrative councils (municipal councils) composed of locally elected representatives for the governor to consult and involve in the administrative decisions affecting the district. Historic records show that in 1910, municipal elections were held in As-Salt, and resulted in the formation of a municipal council composed of 7 members (5 Muslims and 2 Christians) (Tarif, 1997). Each district was then divided into several *Nahiyas* (group of villages), and each *Nahiya* was composed of several villages. The *Tanzimat* led to the rise of economic, social and health institutions, as well as schools, public buildings, mosques, and many shops.



Fig.37. Houses on the hillside of As-Salt which are mostly flat roofed or roofed with cross vaults
Fig.38. Street in As-Salt (As-Salt in Trans-jordan, 1918)



Fig.39. The Great Mosque minaret and Abu Jaber house in the background
Fig.40. The old Saraya building



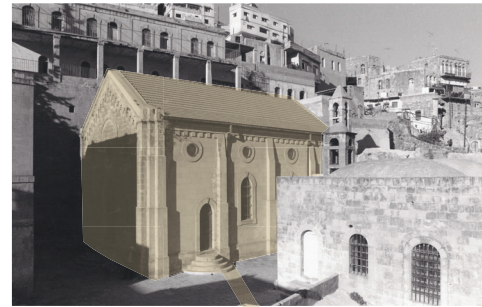
Diagram.5

Role of Public Buildings & Spaces in Contributing to an Active and Inclusive Public Life:

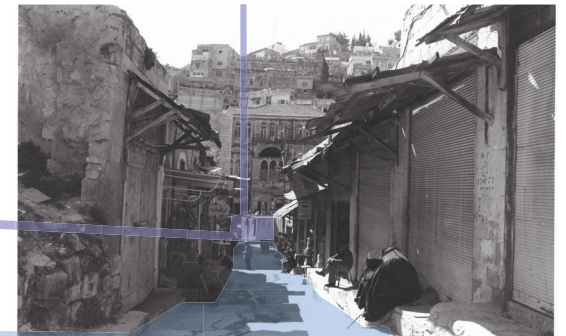
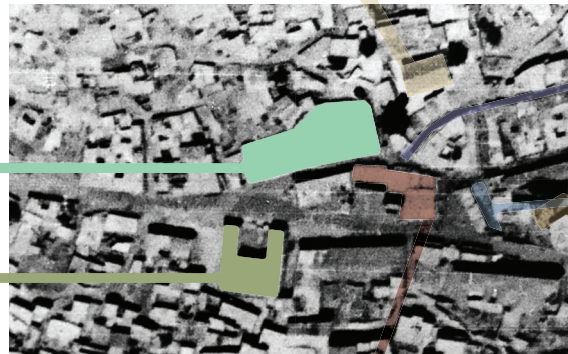
*Hammam (Public Bath), Church, Mosque,
Sahet Al Ain, Hammam Street, Telegraph &
Post Office*



The Great Mosque



Anglican Church



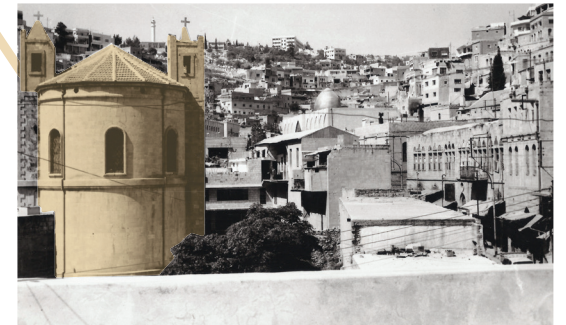
Al-Skafiya Alleyway



The Old Saraya Building

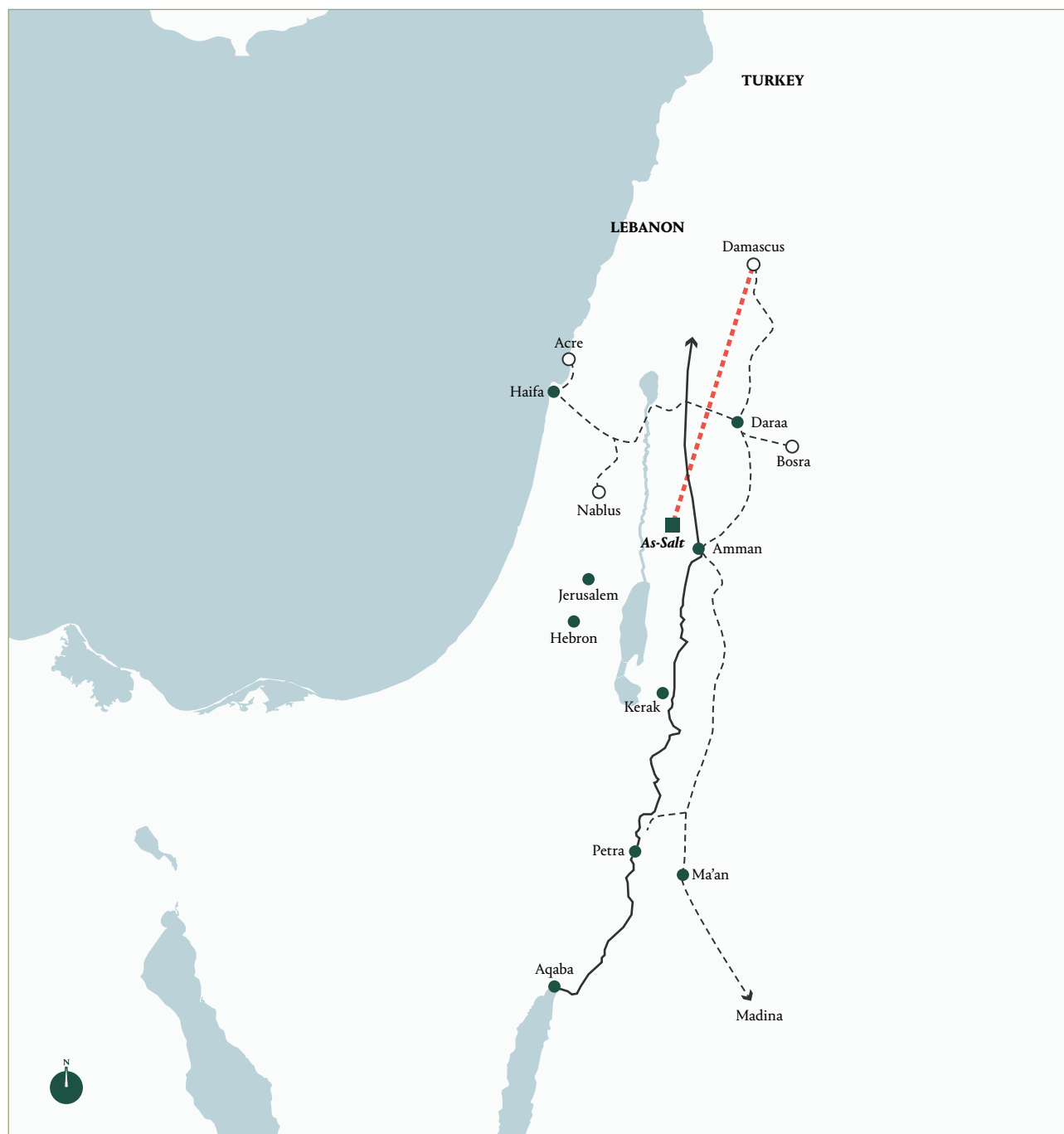


**Wakalet al-Sukkar
(Post & Telegraph Building)**



**Latin Church
(Roman Catholic Church)**

Diagram.6
*Mapping Security
 & Ottoman
 Reforms
 (Communication,
 Road & Rail
 Networks)*



- Communication,
 Road, & Rail
 Networks**
- King's Highway
 - Hijaz Railway
 - - - Telegraph Line
 - Regional Cities
 - End Station on Hijaz Railway

Map.6 Mapping Security & Ottoman Reforms (Public Works & Buildings)



Public Works & Buildings

- 1 The Great Mosque of As-Salt
- 2 Ottoman Saraya Building
- 3 Wakalet As-Sukkar (Post & Telegraph Building)
- 4 Small Mosque of As-Salt
- 5 As-Salt Secondary School (Initiated During Ottoman Period)
- 6 Said Al-Bahra School
- 7 Citadel

The various Ottoman reforms and the intensified security presence brought in economic prosperity. The extension of direct Ottoman rule also led to a series of transformations in the economic life of frontier districts. Enhanced security, regulation of weights and measures and growing monetization encouraged the development of markets which, in turn, attracted merchant participation in the state's project of direct rule. It also encouraged urban merchants from nearby cities to migrate and open businesses in As-Salt. This culminated in changes in agricultural production away from subsistence and barter exchange in local markets to cash crops destined for external markets.

By 1874, a Committee for State Constructions had been created in As-Salt to build a governor's residence, and a *Saray*, or government office was erected in the town's central square (Sahet Al-Ain) in 1876, and the *Saray* was completed in 1889; it housed the governor's offices, the court for the district, and meeting spaces for the municipal council. Historic records first mention the Municipality of As-Salt in 1888; yet the Municipality was established in 1887, making it the first to be established in Trans-Jordan (Rogan 1999: 61).

Prior to the *Tanzimat* period, two main routes existed: *The Kings' Way* (known as *Darb Al-Sultan*) which followed the Roman emperor Trajan's ancient roads across the highlands and extended from Amman through Hisban and Madaba, before

crossing the vast Wadi Mujib and crossing via Karak and Petra down to Aqaba; and the second is The Pilgrimage Road (known as *Darb Al-Hajj Al-Shami*), which was supported by pilgrimage forts that were created by the Ottoman government in the 16th and 17th centuries. Part of the Ottoman reforms was the investment in extending urban roads and in cutting new routes suitable for wheeled traffic connecting As-Salt to nearby towns and villages in Trans-Jordan and across the River into Palestinian towns as well serving Nablus and Jerusalem. The extension of communications westwards to the Palestinian districts opened Jordan to regional markets. Ferries were installed on the Jordan River servicing both the Nablus and Jerusalem roads shortly after 1867 and a bridge replaced the by 1890.

The most innovative lines of communication were the telegraph and the railway links between Damascus and Medina. Both represented costly new forms of technology imported from industrial Europe. For most natives of the frontier districts, telegraph wires and railway lines were their first encounter with the instruments of Ottoman modernity. In 1890, As-Salt was linked to Damascus by telegraph, and remained the southernmost station in the Syrian network until June 1900 (Rogan 1999: 63). Another major Ottoman investment in communication and road networks was the establishment of the Hijaz Railroad Line across Trans-Jordan at the turn of the 19th century.

Part of Ottoman reforms was also the building of schools and mosques and the dispatching of religious instructors and teachers to As-Salt. It is very important to understand, that contrary to common belief, Ottoman genuine reform methods in the region were significant, especially in the way the Ottoman state was linked to a serious agenda of public works and was building in the more marginal southern reaches of Trans-Jordan even in areas of low population densities. In As-Salt, one prominent example which demonstrates the Ottoman diligence and interest in building mosques in the region is the building of the Small Mosque (*Al-Jami' Al-Saghir*) which was completed in 1907. It was built by the famous *Nabulsi* master builder 'Abd al Rahman Al-'Aqrug and was located in the middle of the *Suq* in Hammam Street very close to the main Sahet Al Ain at the center of the town. In As-Salt, such socio-urban and economic changes contributed to the transformation of tribal individuals into urban Ottoman subjects. As-Salt emerged as a new Ottoman urban frontier in Trans-Jordan. The city demonstrated the interconnections between both a tribal and an emerging urban culture with strong connections to the hinterland around it.

Based on an extensive interview of a prominent city historian, he elaborated how by the second half of the 19th century, one notices that Bedouinism's influence started receding and instead, the spread of a settled and secured urban culture and environment emerged in As-Salt due to the

Ottoman reforms¹. Tarif, a well-reputed historian of the city elaborated how As-Salt, and towards the turn of the 20th century became what he termed *Haderat Al-Urdun*: Jordan's most acclaimed urban presence. Also, and based on another interview with another of the city's prominent historians², he elaborated on the nature of the relationship between the various tribes residing around As-Salt and the urban residents of the city (mainly the urban merchants) and added that the relationship was transforming and was becoming very amicable and was based on mutual interests and not on fear. Mutual interests now were based on protection of travelers and traders by the tribes (representing a shift from the normal practices of raiding caravans); and dependency where these Bedouins were gradually becoming dependent on and accustomed to the City's urban traded products.

Prior to the Ottoman reforms, illiteracy was wide-spread in Trans-Jordan during the first decades of the 19th century. Educational reform and the inception of schools in Trans-Jordan had to accommodate rapid social change in the region at the turn of the 20th century. All state schools in the province of Syria followed the same curriculum and regulations as schools in the other provinces of the Empire. Consequently, successful graduates were eligible to pursue higher education in the different provincial regional capitals such

as Damascus and even Istanbul. Schooling was considered a means to transform young villagers and Bedouins into "modern" Ottoman citizens; more or less, into "*Efendis*." Therefore, schooling was considered a means for fashioning, disciplining, and manufacturing the contemporary individual at the time.

Earlier, and during the Ottoman *Tanzimat* period, and as part of educational reforms, a new public schooling law was enforced in 1869 (*Nizam Ma'aref Omomiah*) which had divided the administration of schools into public and private schools, both supervised by the State; but in the case of private ones, their inception and management was left over to religious or other entities that established the school in the first place. These private schools included the missionary schools and the *Katateeb* (singular is *Kuttab*). The *Katateeb* were private religious schools where children learned the Arabic language, mathematics, and the Islamic religion from a *Sheikh*/teacher. These were held either inside or next to mosques or in the house of the Sheikh himself. No degrees were given at the *Katateeb*, but once a child memorized the Holy Quran, a major celebration, called *Al-Zaffah*, was held to celebrate the occasion.

Several public and private schools were established in As-Salt as part of Ottoman efforts for educational

reforms towards the second half of the 20th century. A primary public school for boys was established in As-Salt as early as 1870, the first in Trans-Jordan. Furthermore, state schools for girls were opened in As-Salt as well. According to Rogan (1999, 156), and in c. 1890, the city of As-Salt had 1,460 students distributed over 42 primary schools and 1 secondary school. Curriculum included religion, Arabic (dictation, comprehension, and grammar), mathematics, book keeping, engineering principles, general history, Ottoman history, geography, and gymnastics. It is very interesting to look into one of the diplomas of a resident from As-Salt (*Muteeh Afendi Mihyar Zadeh*) dating to June 20th of 1910 which stated that the topics of learning in the elementary schools included: The Holy Quran, morals, Ottoman grammar, Arabic grammar, reading and dictation; mathematics, Ottoman history and geography (Tarif 1997).

One of the, if not the most, prominent educational centers in the early 20th Century in Trans-Jordan was As-Salt High School which had played a significant role in the political, cultural and scientific life of Jordan. Several prominent Jordanian public figures already graduated from there (5 prime ministers, more than 40 ministers, university presidents and deans of colleges in Jordan). It was, for many years, the only high-school in the country at least in the 1920s era. The idea of constructing the School

¹ Meeting with historian George Tareef (May 9, 2018)

² Meeting with historian Mohammad Khraisat (May, 2 2018)

started during the reign of *Sultan Abdulhamid II* during the Ottoman period at the turn of the 20th century, and was part of the plans for educational reform in the Empire at the time. But the actual construction which was supposed to take place between 1916-8 was delayed because of the First World War. Nevertheless, classes started in 1919 in some of As-Salt's urban houses. Later on, the late King Abdullah of Jordan had laid out the foundation stone of the School in 1923 and construction lasted until 1925, which was when the first floor was completed.

By the turn of the 20th century, the urban reality of As-Salt became unique, it demonstrated a unique urbanity which was an outcome of extending Ottoman rule to this southern periphery of the Empire, Ottoman reforms and transformed tribal individuals, migrating urban bourgeois merchants (with their businesses and trade networks) drawn to As-Salt as the new economic southern frontier, and missionary reforms as we will elaborate in the next sections of this File. As-Salt emerged as a new center for commerce in Trans-Jordan.

- **Urban Bourgeois Merchants Drawn to As-Salt (The New Economic Frontier)**

One very significant group that contributed to the transformation of As-Salt from a small rural village in the first half of the 20th century to a

thriving urban center were groups of migrating urban bourgeois merchants drawn to As-Salt after extending Ottoman rule, security and reforms to these southern frontiers of the Empire. Intensified security (due to Ottoman reforms) and the agricultural production of the region (including very good quality grains) were the primary attractions that encouraged these urban merchants to flock to As-Salt where they diversified their economic activities to include in addition to trade and agriculture, the accumulation of agricultural property. Migrating families came from Nablus, Jerusalem, and Hebron in Palestine; from Damascus in Syria; from Lebanon, and from as far north as Turkey. Diagram.7, Page 44 elaborates on the names of these families and where they migrated to As-Salt from.

Merchants' activities drew Trans-Jordan into the regional economy of Ottoman Syria and the Mediterranean world beyond. They emerged as a distinct social elite, and this was manifested by the homes they have commissioned to be built fronting main public spaces of the city such as *Hammam Street* and *Sahet Al Ain*. These urban bourgeois houses, as will be explained later in this document, should be seen as a testimony to their social position, cultural exchange, and the circulation of architectural types and images within the region producing a unique and particular urban sophistication in As-Salt towards the second half of the 19th century.

Based on an extensive interview with one of the

city's historians, some of the prominent reasons to settle in As-Salt included mainly the security systems, flourishing of agriculture (wheat, other), abundance of water and fertile land, and the introduction of the Hijaz Railroad Line and other infrastructure linked to communications (e.g., Telegraph Line). He also elaborated that the main transformation in As-Salt is from village to an urban society linked to trade and capital was the influence of urban merchants. In addition to trade, cultural exchange included also inter marriages and the circulation of not only goods but also ideas, images, art forms, and architectural types.



Diagram.7
*Travel, Migration
 and Inter-
 Marriage,
 & Pilgrimage
 Routes*

Migration To As-Salt From Nearby Cities

- Migration Routes
- Pilgrimage Route
- Regional Cities
- Areas from which Families Migrated

Nablus

Touqan, Amad, Bilbisi, Sharabi, Khayyat, Mango, Bakeer, Asfour, Khirfan, Malhas, Nabulsi, Al Qurra (later named Bisharat), Al-'Aqrouq, Others...

Jerusalem

Bashiti, Halabi, Al Nasser, Others...

Hebron

Khalili, Al Azzeh, Others...

Damascus

Honsi, Hasbani, Othman Abu Al Dahab, Al Antaki, Attar, Sabbagh, Khatib, Al Kuwatli, Abu Laghad, Abu Al Ragheb, Katbi, Oshruq Laban, Tabba', Halawani, Others...

Lebanon

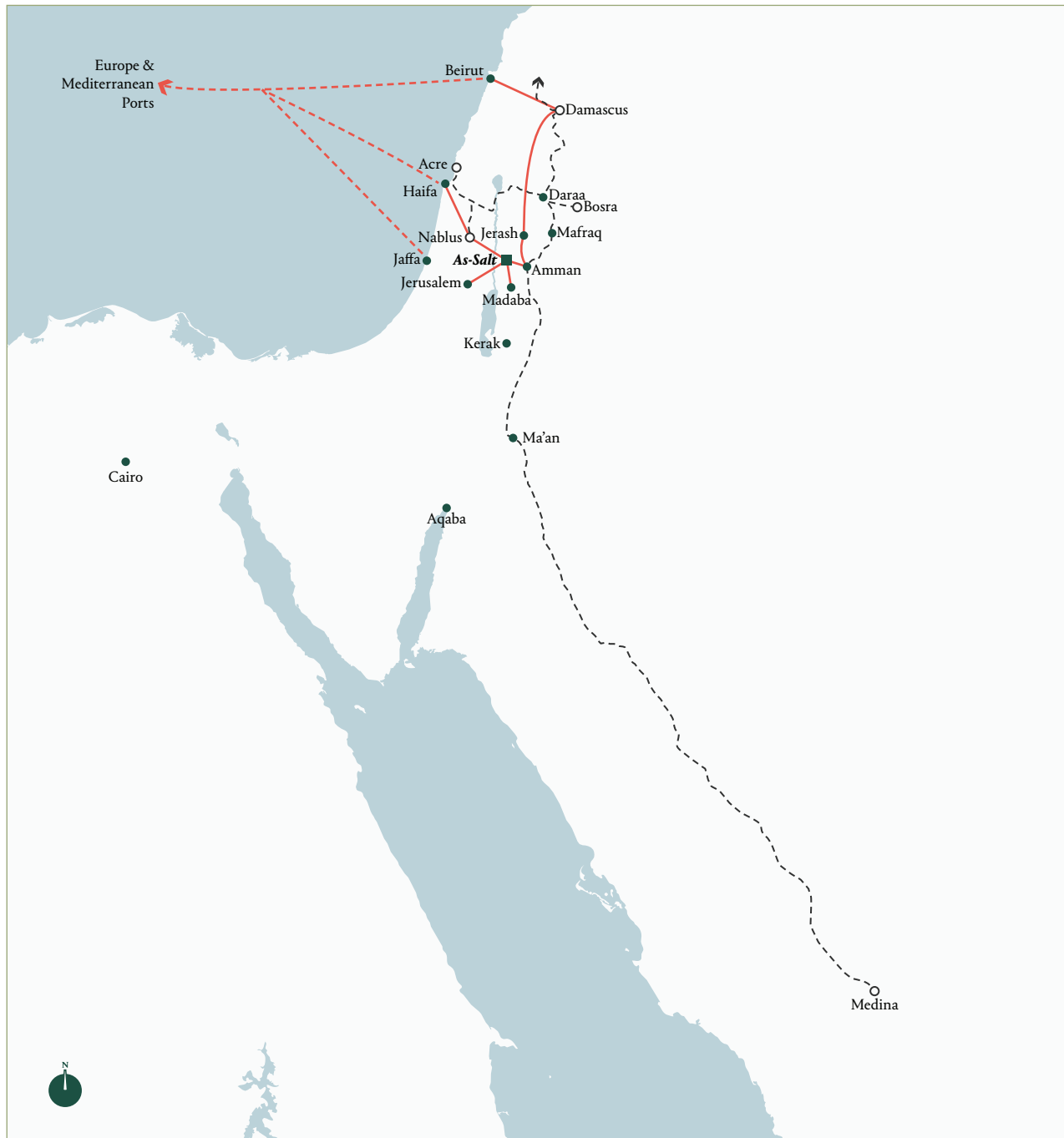
Shalhoub, Al Majthoob, Nicola, Fakhoury, Saidawi, Basila, Haddad, Others...

A rich and distinctive social life was emerging based on a combination of tribal customs and new urban social norms with unique manifestations such as a special urban hospitality, a distinctive urban setting and architecture, and a harmonious co-habitation between Muslims and Christians on one hand, and different ethnic groups on the other as will be elaborated further. The urban merchants that migrated to As-Salt had played a significant role in the expansion of agricultural land in As-Salt and Trans-Jordan. Merchants began to accumulate agricultural properties by foreclosure on bad loans. Most probably, the former holders of these properties (mostly local Bedouins) were invited to continue farming the lands as sharecroppers. The Ottoman government encouraged land registration and opened a land registration office in As-Salt in 1891-92. The concentration of sedentary life in As-Salt gave farmers a secure base from which to negotiate relations with the dominant tribes of the region. The tribesmen needed access to As-Salt to market their goods and to buy town products, while the people from As-Salt needed access to their wheat fields in the plains. The acquisition of agricultural lands completed a process by which urban merchants from As-Salt came to dominate the economic life of Trans-Jordan from the field to the market.

Traded products with the region and with international markets included pastoral and agricultural products. Pastoral traded goods

included livestock (sheep, horses, camels) and their sub products (wool, *Samn* (butter), and dried yogurt (*Gameed*); agricultural products included grains, grapes, raisins and a special plant (Kali or Qili) whose ashes are an important ingredient in the production of soap. Traded products also included special dyes extracted from local plants such as indigo *Neilleh* (dark blue), *Summaq* (maroon), and *Fowwah* (Red). These traded products from the Balqa region from As-Salt hinterland played a key role in the integration of Trans-Jordan into regional and international markets through Nablus, Jerusalem, Damascus, Beirut, and Haifa (Daher 2009).

Diagram.8
Trade Networks



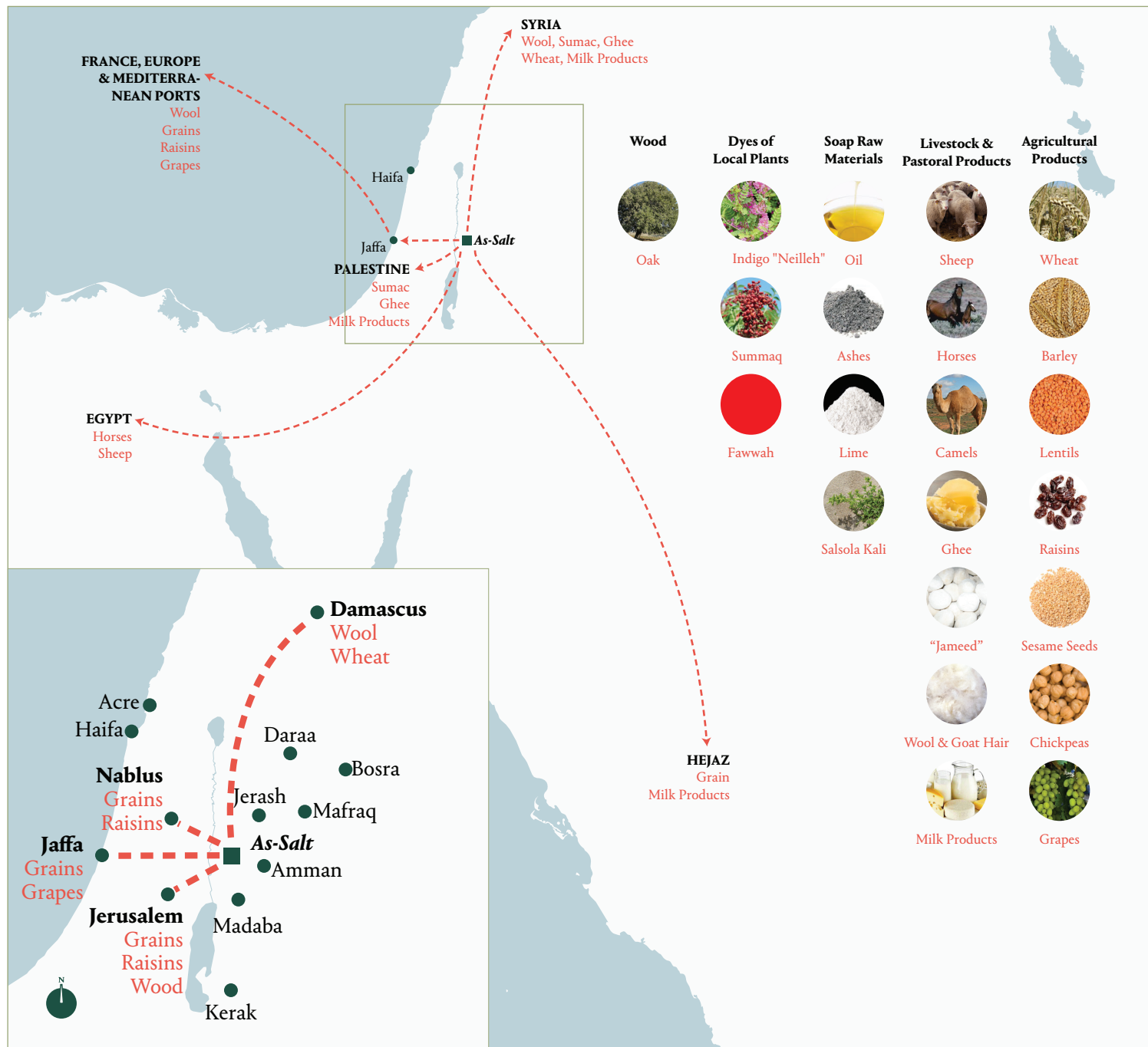


Diagram.9
Circulation of Traded Goods from As-Salt to Syria, Palestine, Al Hijaz, Egypt, France, Europe, & Mediterranean Ports

The livestock of Trans-Jordan provided milk, butter, and meat for local, Palestinian, and Syrian markets. But most important of all was the local wool from Balqa which was exported abroad through Damascus and Haifa. *Samn*, or clarified butter, was the shortening of preference in Syrian and Palestinian cuisine and frequently appeared in the Islamic court registers as the object of advance purchase contracts between merchants and Bedouins. Wool was the only pastoral product to be traded internationally as a consequence of the integration of Trans-Jordan to regional markets, mostly via Damascus. In Damascus, part of the wool would be washed, reducing its weight by half, and the rest was packed unwashed. France was the primary customer for washed wool, while most of the unwashed wool was exported to the United States. Italy, Austria and Britain bought the remainder of the wool exported from Damascus, much of it from the Balqa region. Damascene traders graded the wool by province, with the wool of the Golan considered of the best quality, followed by the wool from the Balqa region (As-Salt hinterland).

The region of Balqa was famous for local production of grains (mainly wheat and barley) since ancient times to the extent that it was nicknamed: The Mine of Grains by Yagout al Hamawi (an Arab geographer from the 12th century). The bulk of the grain of the Balqa was exported to the markets of Jerusalem and Nablus, and, in years of surplus, trans-shipped through the port of Yaffa to Mediterranean ports.

Grain was also planted in plantations owned by families from As-Salt outside the Balqa region such as the Abu Jabers who traded grain from their Yaduda plantation primarily on Jerusalem markets. The city of As-Salt and its hinterland was rich with water springs that the residents used for drinking water and for domestic uses in addition to irrigation of their agricultural lands. Two significant springs come to mind; the first is Ain Al Siqaya which is located in the main square and was used mainly for supplying the houses with water and also supplying the main public path (*Hammam*) with water as well. The second one is Ain al Jadur located in Wadi al Jadur at the south west edge of the City; its water was mainly used to irrigate agricultural land (Tarif 1994).

Fig.42. Ain Al Jadur



Fig.41. Wadi Shuaib looking up the valley showing road & bridge, 1920



Grapes, of different types, were considered one of the most important types of agricultural produce in As-Salt and the Balqa region. Most residents of As-Salt used to practice the planting of grapes and vines even in urban areas in front of their houses, in the courtyards, and in local urban gardens called (*Hawakeer*: plural of *Hakoura*). This added a beautiful and unique character to the urban setting which is combined with vines and gardens. Other agricultural products found markets in neighboring cities such as raisins which were As-Salt's most famous export. Raisins were sold primarily through Jerusalem and Nablus, and were exported from Yaffa (Jaffa) to European markets as well (Abu Jaber 1989). Specialty markets in Hammam street and *Sahet al Ain* flourished in the second half of the 19th century selling these various pastoral and agricultural products in addition to a livestock market in the lower parts of Hammam Street.

Fig.43. Hammam street



Fig.44. Commercial shops in As-Salt

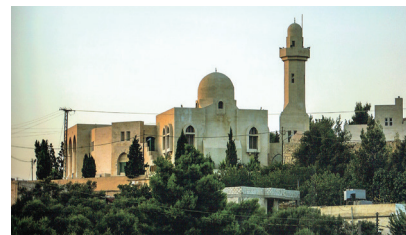


Fig.45. Maqam of Prophet Yousha' (biblical Joshua)

As-Salt contributed significantly to the network of soap production within *Bilad al Sham* (Levant). In *Bilad al Sham*, Arabs made soap from olive oil and a caustic solution derived from the ashes of a local plant found in the Trans-Jordanian steppe near As-Salt. Large cities, towns (like Nablus, Tripoli, Sidon, and Damascus) were able to produce their own soap using As-Salt's plant *Salsole* or *Kali* (locally known as *Dardar* or *Shieh* or *Qili*) which was considered essential for the production of soap in the region as these ashes represented the alkaline agent that was needed for soap production and the ones that came from the Balqa area (around As-Salt) were considered the best in the lands south of Damascus. Historic documents indicate that the *Qili* or *Qilu* plant was gathered by the Bedouins of the Jordanian steppe such as the Bani Sakher, the Adwan, or the Abbad and the ashes of the plant were sold in certain markets or trade fairs "souqs" organized by merchants from As-Salt. Al Balqa region was the place of gathering of the *Qili* plant, and the trade fair usually took place at the mausoleum of the Prophet Yousha' (Biblical Joshua) (Maqam "Al Nabi Yousha'"). It is noted that both Muslims and Christians from As-Salt share the veneration of this prophet together.



Diagram.10
*Network of
 Circulation of
 the Kali Plant &
 Ashes from As-
 Salt to Centers of
 Soap Production*

These bourgeois urban merchants brought with them images, architectural types, and building techniques from their homes of origin in Palestine and Lebanon. They introduced to As-Salt (which was predominantly composed of peasant *Fallahi* houses to new building typologies such as the *3-Bay House* with its triple arch motif and *Bilad al Sham* (Levant) Townhouses with their commercial shops on the ground floor and residential 3-Bay configurations on upper floors. Built by migrating builders and masons from Nablus and Jerusalem, these urban merchants' houses were mostly located overlooking public areas (e.g., Hammam Street or Sahet Al Ain), and introduced to As-Salt a particular urban sophistication producing an urban bourgeois vernacular architecture.



Fig.46. Touqan House in Hammam Street with shops on the ground level and residential 3-bay configurations on upper floors

Map.7 Examples of Urban Bourgeois Merchants' Houses in As-Salt



The Houses of Urban Merchants

- 1 Daoud (Saha)
- 2 Touqan
- 3 Al Nabulsi
- 4 Mihyar
- 5 Khatib
- 6 Daoud
- 7 As-Sukkar
- 8 Al Mouasher
- 9 Abu Jaber (Historic Id Salt Museum)
- 10 Touqan (As-Salt Museum)

Diagram.11

Cultural Exchange & the Circulation of Images, Architectural Types, Building Technologies & Materials

1. Circulation of Architectural Types & Images

The 3-Bay House of the Levant (Central Hallway Dwelling), with its Triple Arch Motif and the Bilad Al-Sham Town House.



Piano Nobile and the relationship of Bourgeois Merchants with the city's public space (Al-Ain Plaza)



2. Circulation of Materials

Circulation of Materials: Red Roof Tiles from Marseilles, France.



Circulation of Materials: Belgian Colored Glass.



Circulation of Materials: Carrara Marble used in significant rooms imported from Italy.



3. Circulation of Images, Building Techniques & Technical Knowledge

Circulation of Art Nouveau and Neo-Colonial Motifs within the Mediterranean building techniques and technical knowledge brought by migrant stone masons.



Circulation of images, building techniques and technical knowledge brought by migrant stone masons from Nablus, Palestine. (Stone Mason Abdel Rahman Al-Aqrouq).

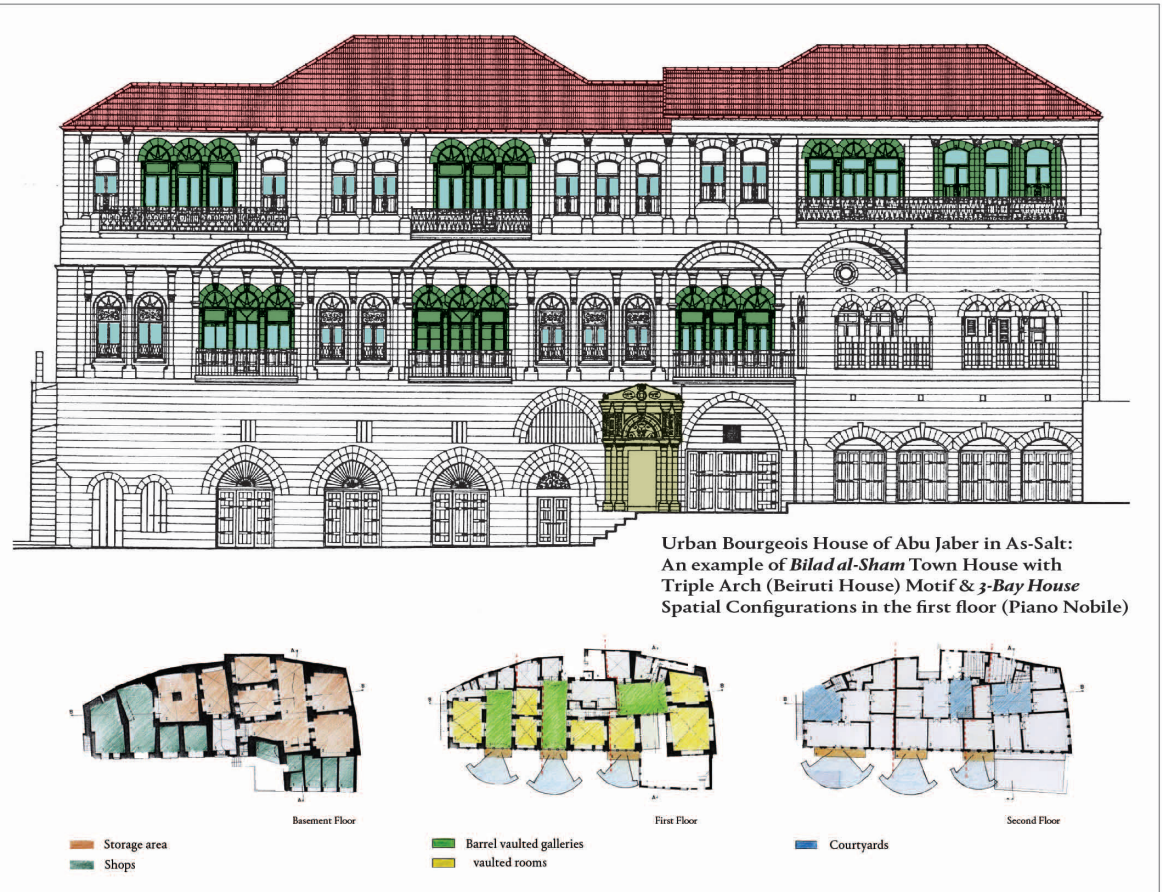


4. Circulation of 'Modernity' Art & Images of the Late Ottoman Period

Circulation of Art Nouveau Paintings (shown on the false ceiling of the drawing room of one of Abu Jaber's Sons).



Circulation of popular Late Ottoman Painting of the Late Ottoman Period of Picturesque scenes, Ocean-liners and Locomotives symbolizing "Modernization" (shown on the false ceiling of the drawing room of one of Abu Jaber's Sons).

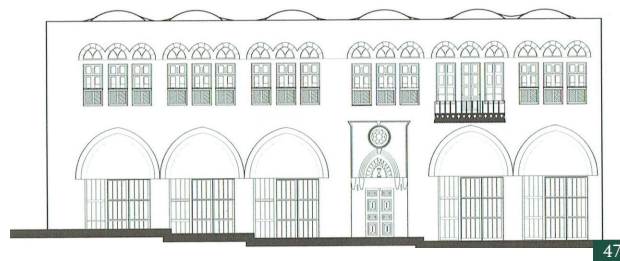


The circulation of images, architectural types, building techniques and materials culminated in a cultural exchange that supported a new urban lifestyle new to As-Salt fused with local tribal/urban customs of urban hospitality and support and symbiosis between Muslim and Christian residents of the city. Diagram.11, Page 53 illustrates not only the circulation of architectural types (e.g., *3-Bay Houses*, *Bilad al Sham Townhouses*), images, building techniques (e.g., *Art Nouveau* and *Neo-Classical* motifs and details); but also the circulation of *Modernity* art and images popular during the Late Ottoman period such as the circulation of *Art Nouveau* paintings and other late Ottoman paintings showing picturesque scenes, ocean liners and locomotives, symbolizing Ottoman *Modernity*.

An example of these urban bourgeois merchants is Dawud Ejendi Tuqan, a scion of one of the most prominent families of Nablus, who had settled in As-Salt in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. He came to As-Salt as a merchant, one of many traders who took advantage of the newly established Ottoman presence to enter the Trans-Jordan market. He bought and built shops and warehouses for the storage and sale of commercial goods: manufactured products from Palestine for the local market, pastoral and agricultural products from Trans-Jordan for resale in Palestinian towns. Dawud *Efendi* commissioned an architect from Nablus, 'Abd al Rahman al 'Aqrug, to design a magnificent home in the heart of the commercial

area (Hammam Street). In terms of its type, the building was a *Bilad al Sham* Townhouse, it (the Touqan Building) communicated a new level of architectural sophistication to the town of As-Salt (Rogan 1999: 95).

Fig.47. Elevation of Touqan House on Hammam Street
Fig.48. Touqan House



Other prominent urban merchants of the city were the Abu Jabers, a Christian family who owned land not only in and around As-Salt but also in *Al Yadouda* Plantation and who were also active in the political and social public life of the city. The Abu Jabers were traders and agricultural entrepreneurs.

Between 1896 and 1905, they commissioned the master builder 'Abd al Rahman Al-'Aqrug to build what turned out to be one of the finest town houses in As-Salt. Situated prominently on the main square (Sahet Al Ain), the Abu Jaber House remains one of the most sophisticated architectural dwellings from the 19th century in As-Salt and in Jordan today. It is important that when we think of these urban bourgeois merchants' houses that we position them and their architecture as a product of not only the skilful masons who produced them, but also as a product of their elite patrons who commissioned them in the first place with their special taste and orientation.

Fig.49. Elevation of Abu Jaber House
Fig.50. Abu Jaber House



It is very important to acknowledge the role of the *mou'alimeen* (stone masons and builders), the majority of whom came from Nablus, who were credited with the production of these urban bourgeois merchants' houses. 'Abd al Rahman al 'Aqrūq (1851-1943) is considered the most influential. He became a respected figure not only by the citizens of As-Salt and Nablus, but also by the local Ottoman government. He ended up residing between As-Salt and Nablus. Other mason builders included Ghanma, Abu Ghazzaleh, Jarrar, Duwani, At-Tabanjah and Siryani. Another success key of the rapid urban and architectural development of As-Salt is found in the availability and workability of the raw material, especially the yellow stone, directly cut from the neighboring quarries, such as the quarries of Wadi Shuaib and the quarries of Al Maydan.



Fig51. 'Abd Al Rahman Al 'Aqrūq, prominent master builder of As-Salt during the Golden Age

In April 1903, the Damascene religious scholar and traveler Jamal al Din Qasimi (1866-1914) visited As-Salt and commented on its urban architecture. Qasimi was very much impressed by the rapid urbanization of the city where he commented that: The urbanization of As-Salt is now beginning to get out of control. *High rise houses are beginning to be*

constructed in an astonishing boom (Rogan 1999: 1961). Qasimi's description of Trans-Jordan reflects some of the important social changes which had taken place since the advent of direct Ottoman rule. The rural village of As-Salt had evolved into a small city where government offices, urban bourgeois town houses, minarets and churches were new features to the urban landscape. Historic records show that the population of the city rose from 29,700 in 1890 to 39,995 in 1914 (Karapat 1985).



Fig54. Town of As-Salt 1920



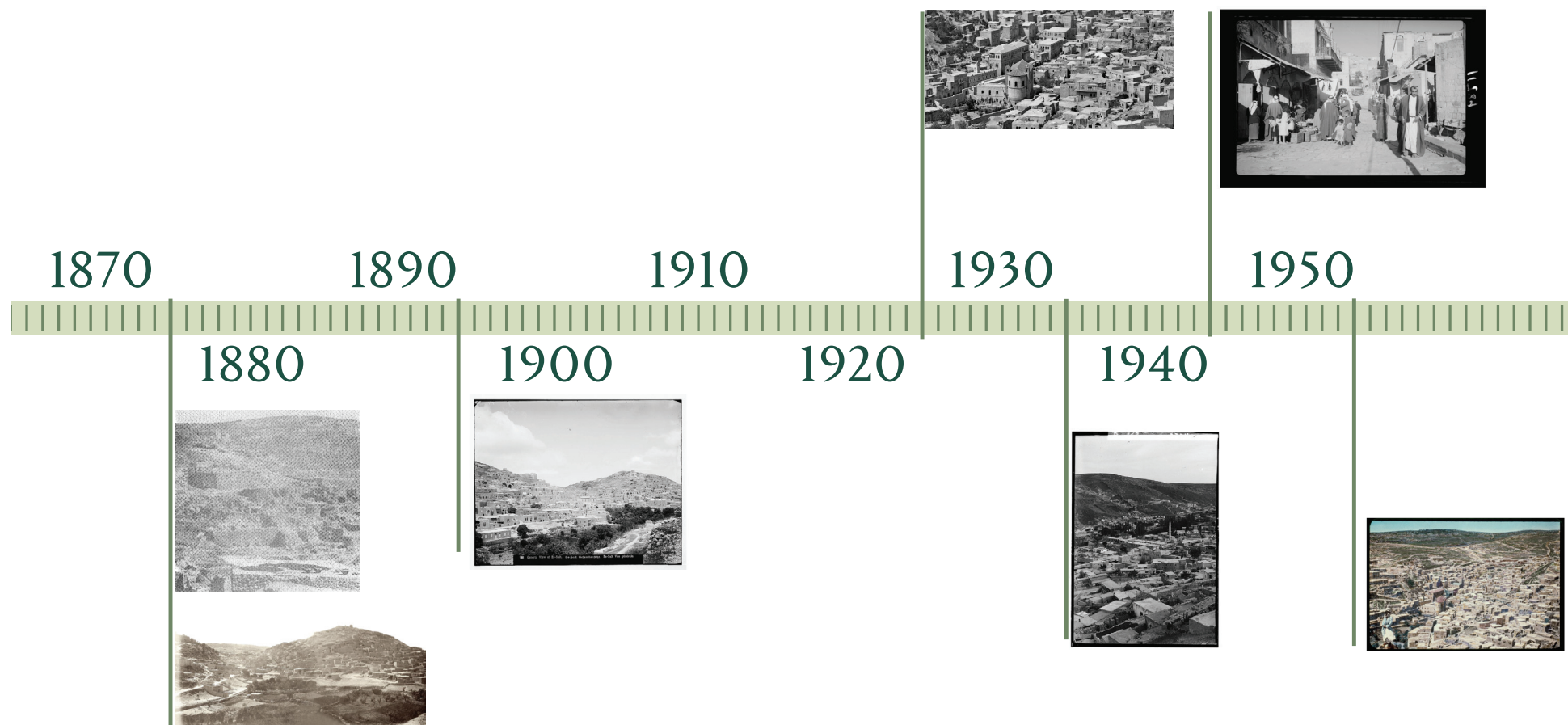
Fig52. Panoramic view of the town of As-Salt 1918

Diagram.12, Page 68 illustrates different views of the city, and represents this dramatic urban transformation from a rural place with predominantly peasant houses into a thriving urban southern frontier center of vibrant public spaces, Ottoman and missionary public works, commercial streets, and urban bourgeois town houses.



Fig53. Transformation of the Urban Context and the Introduction of Merchants' Houses and Ottoman and Missionary Public Works 1880

Diagram.12
Mapping Urban
Transformations



- **European Christian Missionaries & Their Public Works on Body and Soul**

Christian missionaries were another major catalyst of change in As-Salt. Missionaries were the only European residents in Trans-Jordan, primarily Britons of the Church Missionary Society and the French and Italian priests of the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem. Missionary activities worked on the minds and bodies of the local inhabitants as well as their souls. In addition to building churches, missionaries introduced modern education and medicine through the opening of schools, clinics and hospitals which provided new approaches to diagnosis (Rogan 1999: 20). For the first time in As-Salt, students were exposed to the subjects and pedagogy of European education: the sciences and humanities.

Yet, it is important to understand that the main agents of transformation in As-Salt: Ottoman reforms, bourgeois urban merchants, and European missionaries; did not work in isolation from one another. The Ottoman government sought to encourage the presence of merchants and merchants sought positions in local government. Missionaries provoked a defensive reaction from the government, which sought to regain the initiative in providing education, health care and even religious instruction; therefore, the Ottoman government was also keen on building schools and mosques in the city.

So, towards the second half of the 19th century, the people of As-Salt started to entertain relations with these European missionaries. French missionaries built the Roman Catholic Church (known locally as the Latin Church) in 1869-70 very close to the main square of the city (*Sahet Al-Ain*); the Anglican Church was built in 1867 also close and overlooking the square above Al-Khader Street.



Fig.55. Latin Church (Roman Catholic Church)



Fig.56. Anglican Church (Church of the Good Shepherd) and the English Hospital

Prior to the arrival of these Western missionaries, Christians in Trans-Jordan were mostly Greek Orthodox. Visitors to the city talk of an inter-sectarian tolerance that prevailed between Muslim and Christian residents of As-Salt to the extent that it was very difficult to distinguish one from the other based on appearance, dress, and cultural norms. Western missionaries, who had developed an extensive network in Mount Lebanon, the Syrian coastal plain, and the Palestinian highlands, came to view Trans-Jordan as a particularly fertile field for their activities. The relative neglect of social services by the Ottoman authorities and the Greek Orthodox church alike provided the missionary societies with a means to reach out to local communities by methods perfected elsewhere among the Syrian missions: education and health care. The Roman Catholics and the Protestants were received with cooperation and good will by the townspeople and, after 1867, by Ottoman officialdom (Rogan 1999: 123).

One of the early Roman Orthodox priests to visit As-Salt was Don Augste de Actis, who initially was posted in Nablus and started to extend his efforts across the River Jordan. He made his first visit to As-Salt in 1866 where he rented a facility from a local Christian family (Al-Zu'mut, who later became his first local converts) to set up a mission in the city. The Patriarchate dates the founding of its Trans-Jordan mission to this visit (Rogan 1999: 125).

In 1869, De Actis was removed from his position and was succeeded by the priest of Bayt Sahur in Palestine, the French *Jean Morétean* (1816-1883). A zealous missionary, *Morétean* was also a qualified architect who was involved in building projects in the city of which the design of the Roman Catholic (Latin) Church in the middle of the city was his most significant (*Morétean* 1871). Father *Morétean* started the construction works, which were then completed by his successor Father Gatti. The first Protestant mission, headed by Bahnam Hasuna, came to As-Salt in 1866 and won over the loyalty of the small Protestant community through his efforts to teach their children and to minister to their needs (*Moretain* 1871). Furthermore, shortly after the Ottoman government established its presence in As-Salt, the Church Missionary Society (CMS) began to explore the possibility of extending its activities to the east of the Jordan. In the early 1870s, the CMS began operations in As-Salt; and in 1878, Khalil Al-Jamal arrived in As-Salt and the Protestant community began to enjoy a measure of stability.

As-Salt was also considered a base from which missionaries spread their teachings and works to the nearby Christian satellite villages of Fuhays, Rumaymin, and later, Madaba. They also crossed the Zarqa' to reach the numerous Christian communities in the villages of Jabal 'Ajloun (Rogan 1999: 130). Yet, while villagers used the missionary presence to improve their standard of living, the

basic attachment of local Christians to the ancient Orthodox Church was striking, it was a part of their culture, it was religion as they understood it, replete with icons, and tolerant of local practices such as saint-worship.



Fig.57- General View of As-Salt 1900

According to Tarif (1997), the Protestants established their first school in As-Salt in 1867 with 2 teachers and 95 students (males and females). The Roman Catholics (Latin) established their first school for boys in 1870 with 2 teachers and 62 students, and also another school for girls in 1871 with 1 teacher and 20 students. By 1879, the CMS (Protestant) School in As-Salt began to distinguish itself from its rivals by building an extensive facility and by hiring distinguished teachers such as Khalil Al-Jamal. At the end of the academic year in August 1879 the School held its first public examination, an unprecedented event attended by numerous Ottoman officials: the regional governor and the

mufti from Nablus, as well as the district governor, military commander and judge of As-Salt. According to the chronicles of Khalil Al-Jamal, the exam began at 8:40 a.m. and lasted three hours and twenty minutes, during which the candidates were tested in geography, history, arithmetic, grammatical reading of texts in Arabic, and an essay on wealth and poverty. As the School expanded, more teachers were hired and a girls' school was opened in As-Salt in 1883 (Daher 2009).

Map.8 Mapping Public Works by Christian Missionaries



Churches & Public Works

- 1 Protestant Church (American Church-Assemblies of God)
- 2 English Hospital in As-Salt
- 3 Anglican Church (Church of the Good Shepherd)
- 4 Latin Church (Roman Catholic Church)
- 5 Latin Monastery School
- 6 Latin Monastery

Existing Churches

- 7 Melkite Greek Catholic Church (Our Lady of the Annunciation Church)
- 8 Greek Orthodox Church (St. George's Church-Al Khader Church)
- 9 Orthodox School for Boys
- 10 Greek Orthodox Church (Church of the Dormition of the Virgin Mary)
- 11 Greek Orthodox Church (Church of the Saviour-Church of the Lady Sarah)

The first Protestant missionary clinic was established in As-Salt in 1872, the Protestants were the first to use medical services as a means to draw all ages to their premises. In 1883, a physician was appointed to the mission's clinic: Dr. *Ibrahim Zou'rab*; a graduate of the Beirut Medical School. His practice was located in a small shop in As-Salt. Other physicians who served in As-Salt included Dr. *Elias Saba* (1885-9), Dr. *Ibrahim Salibi* (1889-1905), and pharmacist *Nimr Al-Qbaisi*. The clinic received many patients from As-Salt and its hinterland villages; patients came even from different parts of *Bilad Al-Sham* and the Hijaz. The clinic evolved to become a full-fledged hospital of 2 floors above the *Church of the Good Shepherd* in As-Salt in 1904 (Tarif 1997).

Located on the *Haddadin Steps* overlooking Sahet Al Ain, the English Hospital was considered the only hospital in the region of Trans-Jordan at that time. The first floor of the Hospital was built in 1904 and then the upper floor was added in 1923. The English Hospital and its pharmacy together with the Doctor's Residence, Church of the Good Shepherd (built on the ruins of a Roman temple) and Sunday School near Al Khader Street represented a pioneer public medical service in As-Salt at the turn of the 20th Century. The Hospital played a very important role in elevating the adverse effects of the 1927 earthquake in Trans-Jordan (Daher 2009).



Fig.58. The English Hospital in As-Salt



Fig.59. Staff and helpers of the English Hospital in As-Salt 1923

- **Every Day Life & An Emerging Distinctive Local Culture: Tolerance, Symbiosis, Urban Social Welfare, and the Honor of Urban Hospitality**

The As-Salt urban community, and by the end of 19th century was a remarkable mix of local tribes and urban bourgeois merchants from Nablus, Jerusalem, Hebron, Damascus, Nazareth, Lebanon, and Turkey. A rich and distinctive social life was emerging based on a combination of tribal customs and new urban social norms with influences from Ottoman and missionary public works and reforms. There were always newcomers to town, peddlers, merchants, or even merchant migrants. This created a new Salti tradition of urban hospitality where travelers and visitors were welcomed in the urban merchants' own houses for days and were offered the best in food, drink, and accommodations.

The religious diversity of the community of As-Salt and its hinterland (Muslim, Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Protestant); and its different ethnicities (Arab, Turkmen, Kurdish, Chechen) were points of strength that fostered harmonious co-habitation, tolerance, and support between Muslims and Christians on one hand, and different ethnic groups on the other. This diverse community in As-Salt shared a dense urban setting and produced a distinctive architecture and public spaces that supported this tolerance and symbioses in addition to producing a distinctive urban social welfare

between neighbors and residents of the city. This very important trait of tolerance and co-habitation between Muslims and Christians that emerged in As-Salt was unique and resulted in the shaping of an urban fabric in a way where no divisions (ethnically or religiously) between residential quarters existed in the city. Many cultural traits testified to this co-habitation and tolerance such as sharing each other's religious festivals, sharing responsibilities, brotherhood and fraternity (e.g., brotherhood through breast feeding, or brotherhood in blood: this was a symbolic link where a Muslim and a Christian would consider each other as a brother and would help each other when in need). Muslims and Christians joined together in the veneration of certain local saints such as the prophet Yoush'a (biblical Joshua) and the prophet Al Khader. It was impossible to distinguish between Muslims and Christians (men and women) on the street for example, this was a time when dress code carried cultural symbolism rather than only a religious one. This blurring of distinction resulted in a lack of sectarian divisions within the urban setting which is unique to As-Salt and maybe Trans-Jordan that did not exist in other places in *Bilad Al-Sham* (Levant). This unique and peaceful co-habitation is continued into the present, and in fact, As-Salt can demonstrate a lesson in such tolerance that can benefit many places of the world today.

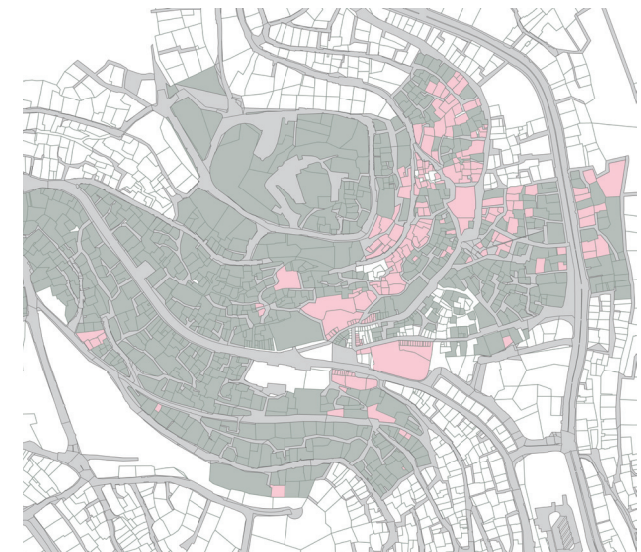


Fig.60. Map illustrating Muslim and Christian Ownerships

■ Muslim Ownerships
■ Christian Ownerships



Fig.61. Wadi Shuaib in As-Salt. Exterior view of Prophet Yousha' Tomb (biblical Joshua)



Map.9 Co-habitation, Symbiosis & Support between Muslims and Christians

-  Urban Proximity Between Various Functions (Mosque - Church)
-  Selected Examples of Shared Urban Entrances or Stairs
-  Church - (Public)
-  Mosque - (Public)
-  Selected Examples of General Support System & Brotherhood:
 1. Visiting & venerating holy shrines together (Al Khader, Prophet Yousha',...).
 2. The former English Hospital now is School of the deaf and blind for both Muslim & Christian children & youth.
 3. **(Not on the map)** Other Individuals & Families examples of Brotherhood & Support System:

Financing the pilgrimage of other religion:
Remon Al Jada'

Breastfeeding brothers:

 Families

Khreisat
Awamleh
Faouri
Daoud
Khatib

 Families

Gammoh
Dababneh
Qaqish & Tadrus
Mouasher
Abu Jaber



Fig.62. The Great Mosque and the Anglican Church (Church of the Good Shepherd)

Fig.63. Al Khader Shrine & Church

Fig.64. Rimon al Jada's shop, a coffee maker and example of the muslim and christians support system in As-Salt

Fig.65. Protestant Church (American Church-Assemblies of God) and Omar bin Al Khatab Mosque





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Fig.66. Urban Proximity between the Great Mosque and the Anglican Church (Church of the Good Shepherd)

Fig.67. Urban Proximity near Al Khader Church

Fig.68. Urban Proximity near Haddadin Stairway

According to Tarif (1997), Muslims and Christians in As-Salt lived in very close proximity to each other, and especially where the urban fabric in the city was extremely dense. In addition, the Madafat (special places of urban hospitality where families hosted guests) were also close to each other. As-Salt demonstrated a unique example in *Bilad Al-Sham* (the Levant) where there were no delineated residential neighborhoods by religious sects (similar to what had existed in cities like Damascus, Beirut, or Jerusalem). Muslims and Christians borrowed money from each other and very often had joint businesses in trade and agriculture. Christians participated often in public office and formed, during many years, a considerable percentage of the city's elected municipal council. In fact many of them became mayor of the city on more than one occasion. Population censuses, based on historic records, for the year 1868 showed a 2:1 population ratio between Muslims and Christians (2800 Muslims and 1400 Christians); and the year 1875 showed a 3:1 population ratio (6000 Muslims and 3000 Christians).

Local customs resulted from a fusion between tribal traditions and emerging urban social norms. In As-Salt, a unique and outstanding form of urban hospitality was manifested not only through physical buildings (*Madafat* or *Madafas* (singular *Madafa*)), but also through a social/financial support system between families that financed and supported this

unique urban hospitality. At the beginning, and from the early 19th century, there existed 3 *Madafas* (Awamleh, Akrad, and Masiheiah). But by the second half of the 20th century, multiple family *Madafas* emerged (more than 12 all over the historic urban core). Today, this tradition and practice is continued into the present taking similar but also transformed forms of urban hospitality and family social welfare. In certain cases, these family *Madafas* were individual buildings, and in other cases, part of the house was dedicated to serve as a *Madafa*.

The *Madafa* was given the best location in the house, usually overlooking the town plaza or was oriented towards the valley to adorn it with the best views and vistas. Almost all families had their own *Madafas* such as Madafet Abu Jaber, Madafet Al-Khreisat, Madafet Al-Hadidi, and Madafet Al-Khalaileh. Today these *Madafas* are developing into separate buildings and their role has shifted a bit but in the beginning, they were part of the house and the guests interacted with their hosts and learned from each other.

A well-known Jordanian historian¹ narrates an anecdote about the late educator Mr. Suleiman Attour who came to Jordan from Syria after the inception of the Emirate of East Jordan (similar to several Lebanese, Syrian, and Palestinian administrators and teachers) and served as the headmaster of the Asbaliyah School in Amman.

As-Salt was the first city he visited when he first came to Trans-Jordan in the late 1910s. He arrived at Sahet Al-Ain and was looking for a hotel or a khan to sleep in. One Salti boy directed him to this place which Mr. Attour thought was some kind of an inn or khan. He stayed there for 2 days and it was only when he asked to pay for the room and board that he realized that in fact he was a guest of one of the prominent Salti families.

A thorough investigation into this intangible aspect of this urban culture is important. There were always newcomers to town including merchants, peddlers, or even merchant-migrants. These travelers and visitors were welcomed in the urban merchants' own houses for days and weeks and were offered the best of drink, food, and accommodations. Today's version of the Madafat is a continuation of this Salti tradition into the second half of the 20th and 21st centuries. This unique urban hospitality was influenced by this fusion between tribal traditions on one hand and emerging urban merchants' cultural traits on the other.

¹ A meeting with Mr. Ibrahim Attour (May 5, 2006)

Map.10
*Early (First)
Madafas (Urban
Hospitality)*

Anticipated Historical Madafas

- 1 Al Awamleh Mafada
- 2 Al Akrad Madafa
- 3 Christian Madafa (Al Masiheiah)



Map.11 Proliferation of Madafat (Urban Hospitality Buildings) From the Turn of the 20th Century



20th Century Madafas

- 1 Daoud House Madafa
- 2 Abu Jaber House Madafa
- 3 Toqan House Madafa
- 4 Wakalat As-Sukkar Madafa (Commercial Hub)
- 5 Qaqesh House Madafa
- 6 Al Khreisat Madafa (Falah Al Hamad House)
- 7 Al Dabbas House Madafa
- 8 Abu Talib House Madafa
- 9 Al Mismar House Madafa
- 10 Al Basheer House Madafa
- 11 Al Khalili Madafa
- 12 Al Jaghbeer Hosue Madafa



Fig.69. Daoud House Madafa
Fig.70. Abu Jaber House Madafa
Fig.71. Touqan House Madafa
Fig.72. Touqan House Madafa
Fig.73. Al Qaqish House (i) Madafa
Fig.74. Al Khreisat (Falah Al Hamad House)
Fig.75. Al Dabbas House Madafa
Fig.76. Abu Talib House Madafa
Fig.77. Mismar House Madafa
Fig.78. Al Basheer House Madafa





Fig.79. Al Khalili
Madafa
Fig.80. Al Jaghbeer
Hosue Madafa
Fig.81. Al Jaghbeer
Hosue Madafa

Map.12 Continuation of Urban Hospitality Traditions “Dawaween”



Dawaween / Madafas of the 21st Century

- 1 Al Arabiyat
- 2 Al Hiyarat
- 3 Al Ghnimat
- 4 Al Dabbas (2)
- 5 Al Khreisat
- 6 Al Qitishat
- 7 Al Khlifat
- 8 Al Fauri
- 9 Al Tadros
- 10 Al Dabbas (3)
- 11 Al Jazazeyeh
- 12 Al Jaghbeer (2)
- 13 Al Dababneh
- 14 Al Kloub
- 15 Al Atiyat
- 16 Al Fakhoury
- 17 Al Ramamneh and Al Dahabi
- 18 Al Hadidi
- 19 Al Qaqish (2)
- 20 Al Rahahla
- 21 Al Daradkeh



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Fig.82. Al Arabiyat
Madafa
Fig.83. Al Hiyarat
Madafa
Fig.84. Al Ghnimat
Madafa
Fig.85. Al Dabbas (2)
Madafa
Fig.86. Al Khreisat
Madafa
Fig.87. Al Qitishat
Madafa
Fig.88. Al Khlifat
Madafa
Fig.89. Al Fauri
Madafa
Fig.90. Al Tadros
Madafa



Fig.91. Al Dabbas (3)
Madafet
Fig.92. Al Jazazeyeh
Madafet
Fig.93. Al Jaghbeer (2)
Madafa
Fig.94. Al Dababneh
Madafa
Fig.95. Al Kloub
Madafa
Fig.96. Al Atiyat
Madafa
Fig.97. Al Fakhoury
Madafa
Fig.98. Al Ramamneh
and Al Dahabi Madafa
Fig.99. Al Hadidi
Madafa





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101



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Fig.100. Al Qaqish (2)
Madafa
Fig.101. Al Rahahla
Madafa
Fig.102. Al Daradkeh
Madafa

The practice of hospitality in As-Salt was very much linked to the honor of family and clan. In the Balqa region, visitors had to pay nothing for their stay and food. Accounts differ on the length of time that a visitor could reasonably stay in a guest house. Travelers to the region claimed that certain *Madafas* provided free food and shelter for all visitors for one night only, while Burckhardt, a traveler to the region in the 19th century, maintained that no time limit was imposed, as long as a guest did not stay for an unreasonable length without good cause (Burckhardt 1822). Urban hospitality in As-Salt was considered an honor, and usually families competed for it.

Guests were provided with coffee and the three meals of the day in addition to accommodation. During certain occasions and depending on the type of guests, a sheep or goat would be slaughtered in their honor and other residents of the town were invited to share the meal. This urban hospitality culture was expensive to maintain. Each family *Madafa* had a manager who kept the accounts and also raised funds from the family members or different residents of a certain quarter or neighborhood. Other forms of funding to support this urban hospitality trait came from local taxes in the amount of 1 piaster/one camel load imposed on the trade of ashes of the *Qali* plant which was exported to Syria, Palestine and Lebanon. This taxation amounted to around 3000 piasters

annually during certain years. This urban hospitality manifested by the *Madafat* can thus be interpreted functionally as a public service which was partially supported by a form of taxation (Daher 2009).

This cultural trait of urban hospitality and support continued into the middle of the 20th century and even beyond as explained earlier. After the Israeli occupation of Palestine in 1948, many Palestinian refugees fled their homes and towns and headed east. Many of them stayed with families from As-Salt for weeks and even months without paying any rent or compensation¹. One local anecdote narrated how many chose to come to As-Salt and arrived in *Sahet Al-Ain* (city square). One particular family (the Khamees Family from Jerusalem) arriving to As-Salt in an old Buick car, attracted the attention of a Salti woman from the Abu Jaber Family who was watching from her home window overlooking the *Saha* with her friends and relatives. She immediately summoned her son to talk to the head of the family and to invite them to stay in the Abu Jaber guest house (*Madafa*). They stayed as guests in the *Madafa* for months and later they returned to their hometown Jerusalem. Two years later, the Abu Jaber Family went to Jerusalem to ask for the hand of Audete Khamis (the daughter) in marriage for their son Kahlil Fraih Abu Jaber.

As-Salt enjoyed a rich, inclusive, and colorful public life through its various public spaces such

as *Hammam Street*, *Al-Skafiya Street*, and the city's square (*Sahet Al-Ain*) and also public buildings (e.g., mosques, churches, clinics, schools, Ottoman Sarai, Telegraph Office, other). Religious holidays for both Muslims and Christians were also celebrated in these public spaces through joint processions and events. As-Salt was a busy mercantile city, therefore, its shops and streets were always buzzing with clientele from all over the region.

¹ Meeting with Historian Mohammad Khraisat (May, 2 2018)



Fig.103. Troops waiting their turn to water their horses in March 1918



Fig.104. Australian Light Horse and British troops in the town of As-Salt, showing the post office on the left. Bisharat House is showing on the right in 1918



Fig.106. Merchants and pedestrians in Al Ain Plaza with parts of the Sunday School & the Church of the Good Shepard



Fig.105. Al Ain Bridge, Two light horsemen, one is carrying a bag over his shoulder, and local people standing in front of an archway of an old building which was the watering place where Australians watered their horses. A water trough is in the right hand corner of the building, March 1918

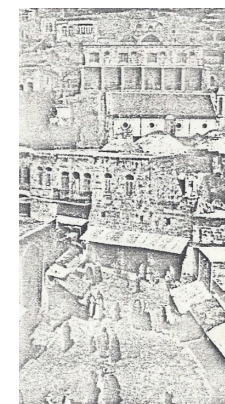


Fig.107. A view of As-Salt showing C.M.S Hospital

Even today, residents of the city still do their daily shopping from these old historic places and shops in *Al-Khader* and *Hammam* Streets and in *Sahet Al-Ain*. Families very often paid social visits between them. The ladies of a particular neighborhood held social gatherings in the mornings and families took turns in hosting these gatherings, which were called *Istiqbal*¹. Older men spent part of their leisure time in *Sahet Al-Ain* (city square) playing an ancient board game called *Al-Manqala*. Today, and in 2018, elderly men from As-Salt continue to play *Al-Manqala* in its city square; and the historic commercial streets and shops are still used and frequented not only by visitors and tourists, but also by the city residents alike. Many of these traditions are continued into the present. As-Salt historic core is an example of a living historic urban center in the region.

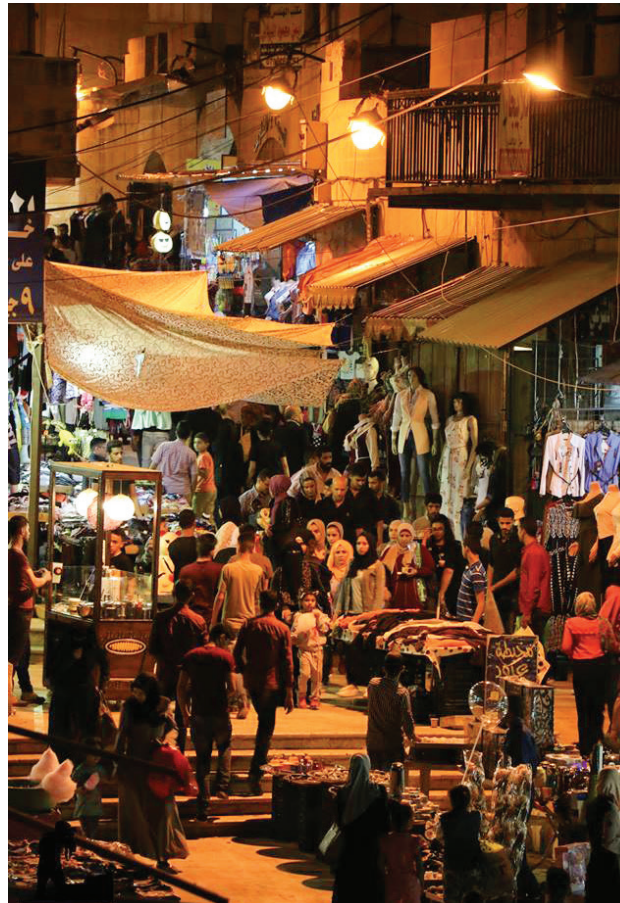


Fig.108. People shopping in Hammam Street



Fig.109. People Playing Manqala in Hammam Street

¹ Meeting with Maysoon Khatib and Amira Dawoud (April 29, 2018)



Richness of Public Life
and Continuity of
Traditions in Sahet Al
Ain & Hammam Street:

Fig.110. Traditional
spice shop at Hammam
street

Fig.111. Man cleaning
in front of his shop in
Hammam Street

Fig.112. Men playing
Mangala at Sahet Al Ain

Fig.113. Shops near
the Small Mosque in
Hammam Street

Fig.114. Traffic & people
at Sahet Al Ain

Fig.115. People shopping
at Hammam street

Fig.116. Vibrant
vegetable market at
Hamman Street





117



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121

Richness of Public Life and Continuity of Traditions in Al Maydan & Al Khader Church & Shrine:

- Fig.117. Al Maydan shops and carts*
- Fig.118. Sales banner at Al Maydan shops*
- Fig.119. School Kids at Al Khader Alleyway*
- Fig.120. Woman visiting Al Khader*
- Fig.121. Prayers at Al Khader Church Cave*



As-Salt and its residents demonstrated many cases of philanthropy and support. It is known in the memory of the city that each year in the holy month of Ramadan, Abdullah Daoud Al-Jazzazi practiced a certain tradition around the time of Iftar, by putting large plates of food outside of his house, and would not eat until all of these plates were taken by the residents of the city. In addition, it was known that one of the shops in the Daoud building fronting *Sahet Al-Ain* was open after the Maghreb prayer to receive travelers or visitors to the city.¹

*Fig.122. Al Daoud
House at Sahet Al Ain*



¹ Meeting with Ahmad Al Hmoud (May 3, 2018).

In general, residents of the city demonstrated many habits and customs related to urban social welfare (e.g., neighbors helping each other when in need, neighbors offering support for a family with a sick member, women of the neighborhood gathered together to help and offer support for a neighbor who had given birth, neighbors sharing food and sweets on a daily basis, other). The unique and dense urban fabric of the City provided the appropriate context for such urban social welfare. Many houses shared semi-public spaces, steps, and alleyways, this strengthened the social relations between members of the community in general. As-Salt stood as a true example of human common life and friendship, tolerance and cohabitation, philanthropy, and urban hospitality. It was an exceptional urban reality in Trans-Jordan at the time and within the region that not only brought an end to the complete bedouinization of the Trans-Jordan at that time; but also drafted the outlines for a genuine Jordanian urban culture

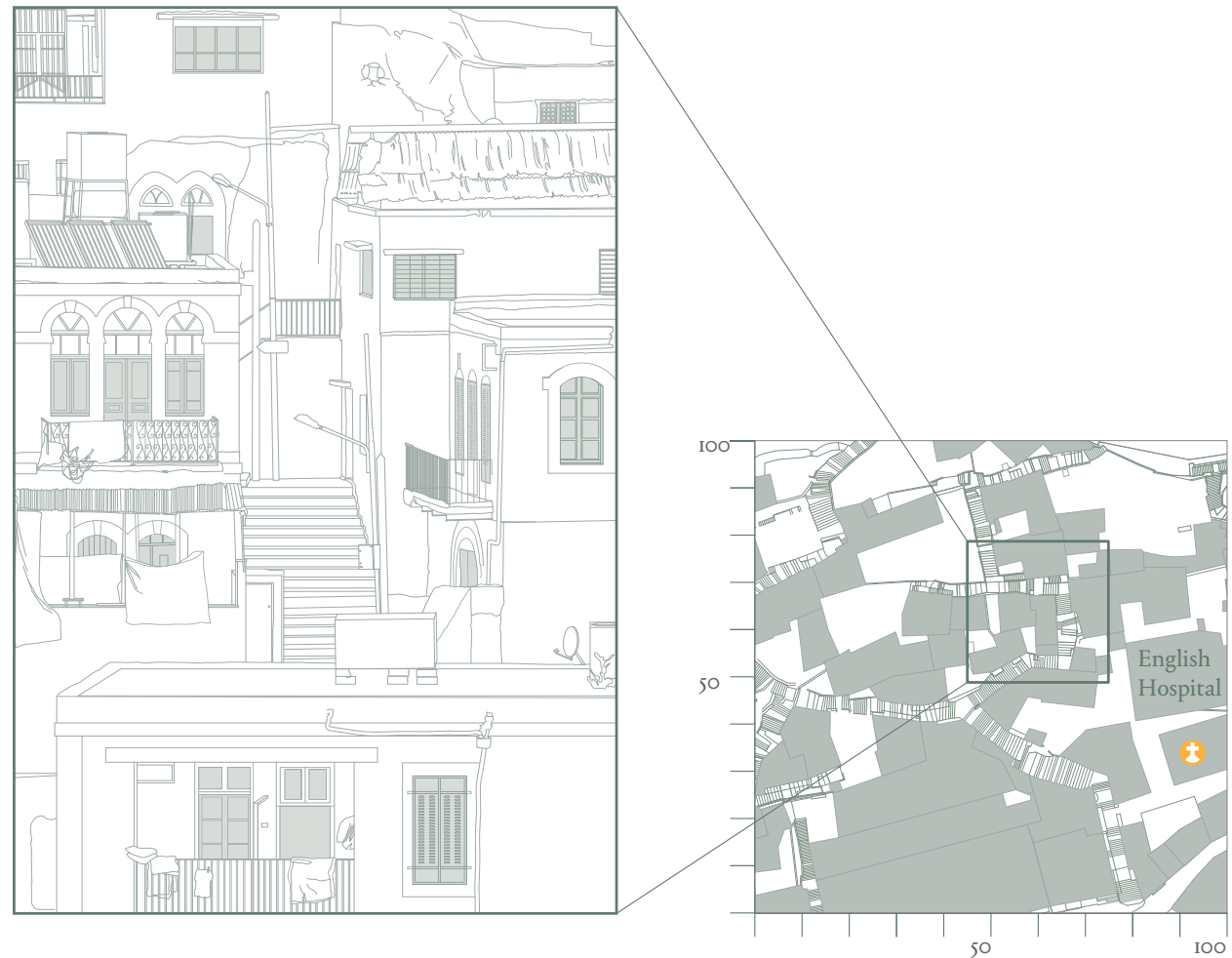


Fig.123. Map & enlarged perspective view; illustrating urban social welfare facilitated by the dense urban fabric around Al Haddadin Stairway



Fig.124. Overview showing urban social welfare facilitated by the dense urban fabric around Al Haddadin Stairway



Examples on Urban Social Welfare ecosystems in As-Salt

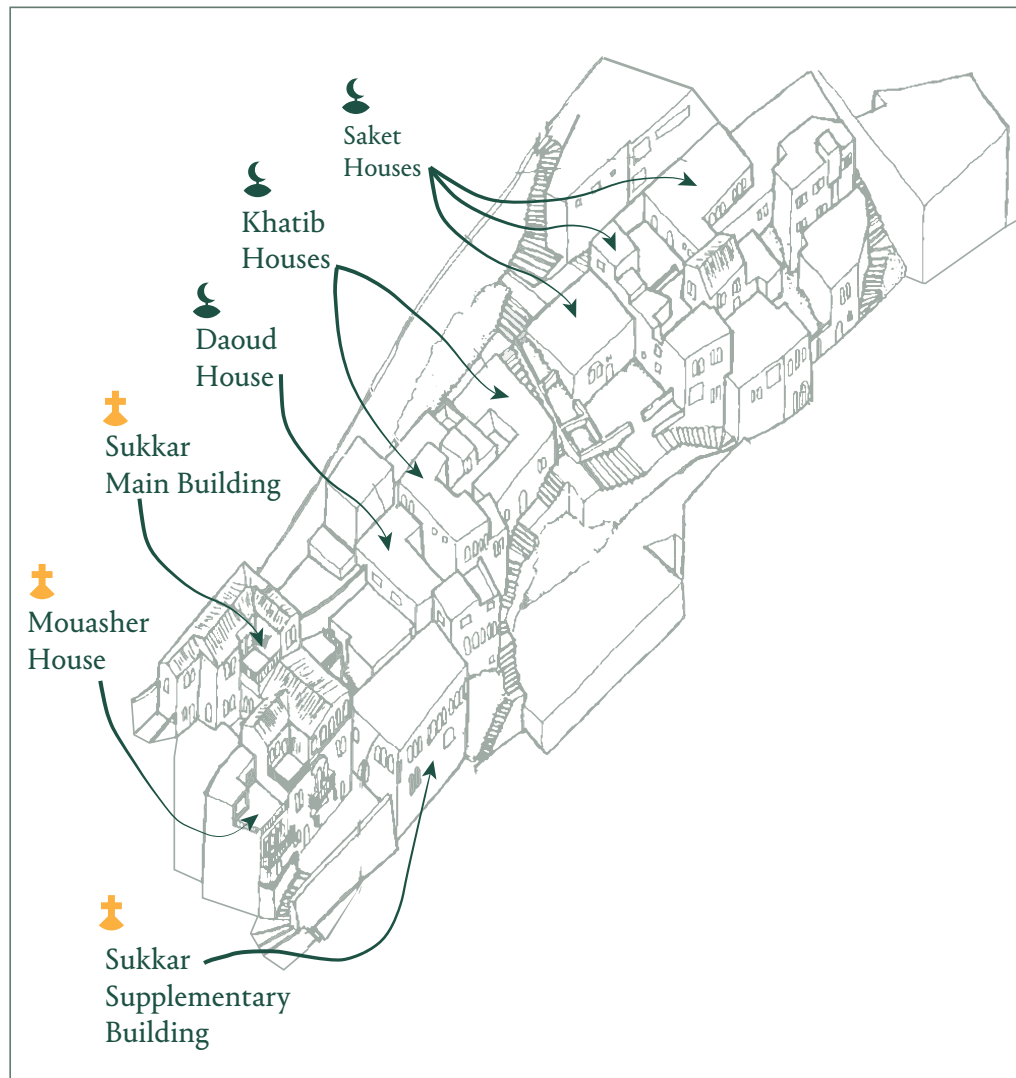


Fig.125. Urban Fabric & Density at As-Sukkar House, Khatib House and Daoud House Urban Complex



Fig.126. Overview
showing dense urban
fabric at As -Sukkar
House, Khatib House
and Daoud House urban
complexes